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THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XXIX

JULY, 1935

NO. 4

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FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

The Missouri Historical Review is published quarterly. It is sent free to all members of the State Historical Society of Missouri. Membership dues in the Society are \$1.00 a year. All communications should be addressed to Floyd C. Shoemaker, The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

"Entered as second-class matter at the postoffice at Columbia, Missouri, under Act of Congress, October 3, 1917, Sec. 442."

CONTRIBUTORS

READ, ALLEN WALKER, attended the State University of Iowa (M. A., 1926), taught English at the University of Missouri, 1926-28 and 1931-32, and lived in England three years, where as a Rhodes scholar he attended Oxford University (B. Litt., 1933). He is now a Research Associate at the University of Chicago, assisting Sir William Craigie in the editing of the *Historical Dictionary of American English*.

McDERMOTT, JOHN FRANCIS, is a member of the department of English of Washington University at St. Louis. He is a descendant of Madame Chouteau and is planning an eventual biography of LaCleve and the Chouteaus. He is now preparing a study of the cultural contrasts between the Creole and the American in the early West.

SPOTTS, CARLE BROOKS, is head of the department of English at Missouri Valley College at Marshall, Missouri. He received his Ph. D. degree from Pennsylvania State College. He is co-author of *The Art of Argument* (1927) and compiled for the October, 1933, issue of the *Review* an article on "Mike Fink in Missouri."

ATTITUDES TOWARD MISSOURI SPEECH

BY ALLEN WALKER READ

In 1855, during the struggles as to whether or not Kansas would be a free state, guards were stationed at the Kansas border to forbid the passing of any abolitionists. The Missourians were to be allowed to enter but the Yankees were to be turned back, and the guards hit upon a single test that determined their decision. They asked the traveler to say the word *cow*, and anyone who said "keow" in the nasal Yankee fashion was not allowed to cross.¹ Here was a workable linguistic test, like the "Shibboleth" of the Gileadites (Judges xii: 6). This incident tends to show that for practical purposes the speech of the Missourians could be distinguished. Does the student of language admit the existence of a "Missouri dialect"? Far from claiming that there is merely *one* Missouri dialect, he says that each person has his own dialect, and consequently there are—according to the latest census figures—3,629,367 dialects in Missouri. It is a relative matter as to whether or not the various speech characteristics have any degree of uniformity throughout the State, and each observer is entitled to his own opinion.

Fortunately we do most of our speaking without a conscious thought as to whether or not we are correct or incorrect; and yet our attitudes towards language form an unconscious background that constantly influences the way we speak. The following statements about Missouri speech seem to the writer to be worth serious consideration.

I. *Missouri speech is the product of intricate and notable forces.* It was an optimistic New York critic who prophesied in 1800 that "the future bards of Potowmac and Messouri shall be said to write English,"² for the linguistic future of the Missouri country was then far from certain. Jostling about were the diverse Indian languages, the Spanish, the

¹Todd, John, *Early Settlement and Growth of Western Iowa or Reminiscences* (Des Moines, 1906), p. 111.

²*Monthly Magazine and American Review*, Vol. III, p. 2 (July, 1800).

French, and the English. The traditional hostility of the pioneers to the Indians prevented the Indian languages from having much influence except in river names, and the Spaniards were displaced before the population was large enough to be of importance; but the French long maintained a rivalry. A geographer of 1832, describing linguistic conditions in the central Mississippi valley, wrote: "The English is by no means the universal language; the French is common in the small French settlements of Illinois and Missouri."² The French voyageur gave atmosphere to Missouri. General Catlin recorded his conversation with a "free trapper" somewhere along the Missouri in 1832:

"Ne parlez vous l'Anglais?" he asked.

"Non, Monsieur," the Frenchman answered. "I speaks de French and de Americaine; mais je ne parle pas l'Anglais."

"Well, then, my good fellow, I will speak English, and you may speak Americaine."

"Pardón, pardón, Monsieur."

"Well, then, we will both speak Americaine."

"Val, sare, je suis bien content, pour dat I see dat you speaks putty coot Americaine."³

It is doubtful whether even the French constitutes a true "substratum" of linguistic influence, for the influx of population was too rapid to allow of much assimilation. As late as 1914, however, the novelist Julian Street remarked on the influence of the diverse racial elements in St. Louis:

Then, too, I encountered there men bearing French names (which are pronounced in the French manner, although the city's name has been anglicized, being pronounced "Saint Louiss") who, if they did not speak with a real French accent, had, at least, slight mannerisms of speech which were unmistakably of French origin. I noted down a number of French family names I heard: Chauvenet, Papin, Valle, Desloge, De Menil, Lucas, Pettiss, Guion, Chopin, Janis, Benoist, Cabanne, and Chouteau—the latter family descended, I was told, from Laclede himself. And again, I heard such names as Busch, Lehmann, Faust, and Niedringhaus; and

²Goodrich, Samuel Griswold, *System of Universal Geography* (Boston, 1832), p. 325. Cf. Holweck, F. G., "The Language Question in the Old Cathedral of St. Louis," in *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. II, pp. 5-17 (January, 1920).

³Catlin, George, *The Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (London, 1841), Vol. I, p. 63.

still again such other names as Kilpatrick, Farrell, and O'Fallon—for St. Louis, though a Southern city, and an Eastern city, and a French city, and a German city, by being also Irish, proves herself American.⁵

The character of Missouri speech was determined by the particular mixture of the dialects brought from the east of the Mississippi river. Of these the Southern predominated. Typical of speakers of it was Major Christopher Clark, who was a member of the territorial legislature when Lincoln county was named on December 14th, 1818. Said he:

Mr. Speaker, I was the first man to drive a wagon across Big Creek, the boundary of the proposed new county, and the first permanent white settler within its limits. I was born, Sir, in *Link-horn* County, North Carolina. I lived for many years in *Link-horn* County, in old Kaintuck. I wish to live the remainder of my days and die in *Link-horn* County, in Missouri; and I move, therefore, that the blank in the bill be filled with the name of *Link-horn*.⁶

The clerk disregarded his frontier pronunciation, however, and wrote down *Lincoln*. The same tradition is apparent in the character of Parson Brooks, whom John Monteith wrote of in 1884: "I'm no poet-like," said the parson. "but I larns the boys a leetle scrap like this:

Thomas Jifferson was a squar' man,
A bawn dimokrat was he,
And him that 'ud be a squar' man
A bawn dimokrat must be."⁷

The ubiquitous New Englander also found his way to Missouri. An English traveler named Charles Latrobe, at Independence, Missouri, in 1832, recorded the speech of a Yankee settler named Elisha Pike, who had a horse to sell. After many preliminary bickerings Latrobe asked him, "Does he trot or break?" Pike answered readily, "Ere a thing what you please." Finally he asked an exorbitant price, and Latrobe exclaimed, "Too much by half, Mr. Pike." But Pike had a prompt answer for this too: "Times

⁵*Abroad at Home* (N. Y., 1920), p. 222.

⁶Mudd, Joseph A., "History of Lincoln County, Missouri," in *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Lincoln County, Missouri* (Philadelphia, 1878), p. 11.

⁷*Parson Brooks* (St. Louis, 1884), p. 25, from notes kindly furnished me by Dr. M. M. Brashear.

ain't now as they used to was."⁸ The innumerable dialectal strands have become so interwoven that the pattern (if there is one) is now marvelously intricate. And continually Missouri speech was being nourished from the well-springs of pure English; as Lowell said of Lincoln: "The English of Abraham Lincoln was so good not because he learned it in Illinois, but because he learned it of Shakespeare and Milton and the Bible, the constant companions of his leisure."⁹

II. *The teacher should have respect for Missouri speech as he finds it.* All too often the school teacher has been at odds with the local culture of his region, for he likes to think of himself as a missionary bringing something esoteric and *recherché*. One writer of 1837, in predicting the establishment of the University of Missouri, said that "Provincialisms, and sectional errors of writing and speaking, will be removed by its influence."¹⁰ Indeed, many of the teachers were actually from New England and used the English normal to them. In 1837 an English traveler, Miss Harriet Martineau, recorded the boast of the New Englanders that their section "has furnished almost all the school-masters, professors, and clergy of the country."¹¹ Many natives of the State were willing to bow before the dictates of other regions, some even in the matter of the pronunciation of the state name. Despite the fact that almost all Missourians used (as they still use) the "z" sound rather than the "s" sound in *Missouri*, the state superintendent of schools in 1897 gave as his position:

I pronounce it Mis-soo-ri. My reasons for so pronouncing it are as follows: . . . With me it is a pure matter of established and arbitrary rule. I pronounce Greek and Latin according to the lexicons and dictionaries. I follow the same rule in the pronunciation of English. I pronounce the word Missouri as above stated because it as yet seems to be authoritative. The following are the chief authorities:

⁸*The Rambler in North America: 1832-1833* (N. Y., 1835), Vol. I, pp. 140-41.

⁹Quoted in *Academy Papers* (N. Y., 1925), p. 136. Dr. Brashear has pointed out that Mark Twain was well acquainted in his youth with the notable English writers of the eighteenth century: *Mark Twain: Son of Missouri* (Chapel Hill, 1934), pp. 196-253. Cf. also Williams, Walter, "Missouri Dialect of High-born Origin," in *Missouri* (organ of the Missouri State Chamber of Commerce), Vol. I, No. 8, pp. 7, 25 (December, 1928).

¹⁰Wetmore, Alphonso, *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1837), p. 19.

¹¹*Society in America* (London, 1837), Vol. I, pp. 182-83.

Webster's International Dictionary, Ed. '95, Mis-oo-ri.

Standard Dictionary, Ed. 1895, Mis-soo-ri.

Lippincott's Pr. Gaz., 1896, Mis-soo-ree.

Century Dictionary, Ed. 1889, Mis-oo-ri.

. . . Provincialism or local pronunciation ought not as I see it to influence a scholarly man or a teacher in what he shall teach.¹²

The tide of opinion has been so strong in Missouri, however, that the pronunciations "Mizzoury" or "Mizzoura" should be considered the "correct" ones.¹³

Language is essentially a body of conventions and is a successful instrument only when both the speaker and the hearer are accustomed to the same conventions. The natural give-and-take of conversation assures that people will be so accustomed, unless some extraneous influence such as a misguided teacher interferes. Missouri has her set of language conventions, and any teacher who should attempt to introduce fantastic, far-fetched elements is surely ill-advised.¹⁴ In

¹²Letter printed in the *Columbia Missouri Herald*, October 22, 1897, p 1 bc.

¹³Consult the writer's article "Pronunciation of the Word Missouri" in *American Speech*, Vol. VIII, No. 4 (December, 1933), pp. 22-36. The use of the "s" sound is due almost always to external pressure—as state Senator Lon S. Haymes admits: "I give the 's' with the short 't' ending in pronouncing *Missouri*. I didn't do this in my younger days, but when I was in Washington we Missourians were subject to much razzing, so I began the practice of stressing these letters" (*Springfield Press*, January 1, 1933). The situation is best summarized by an editorial writer in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, December 30, 1932. "Of course, the people who made and who populate this state and pay the taxes have an inalienable right to say how it is to be pronounced, and by an overwhelming majority they have declared that it should be pronounced with a 'z', as in 'zebra'. From this there can be no appeal. To prolong the controversy is futile, and the East should know it. But that final vowel. There is the troublesome question. Is it 'Mizzoury' or 'Mizzourah'? Missourians themselves cannot agree."

¹⁴A persuasive championing of tolerance for local variation is to be found in Barrett H. Clark's excellent pamphlet *Speak the Speech; Reflections on Good English and the Reformers* (University of Washington Chapbooks, No. 36, 1930). An illustration can be found from my own teaching of English in Missouri. While living some years in England, I had picked up from those around me the pronunciation "neye-ther" for *neither*, and consequently was at a disadvantage in drilling my pupils to use the grammatical concord "neither of them is" rather than "neither of them are". During a certain recitation I asked the question, "What is wrong with this sentence, 'Neye-ther of the men are there'?"—and a pupil answered, "You should say, 'Nee-ther of the men are there'." I am inclined to grant that the pupil had a sound point. In Missouri and the Middle West "nee-ther" is the traditional and standard form; and a teacher who would recommend the pronunciation "neye-ther" would be altogether in the wrong. It may even be futile to teach the agreement "neither of them is"; but here the

1882 Mark Twain lamented that "Æsthètes in many of our schools are now beginning to teach the pupils to broaden the *a*, and to say 'don't you', in the elegant foreign way."¹⁵ There is a vast enough field for the teacher of English if he attacks the carelessness and slovenliness to be found in any well-established regional speech. Too many people have the idea, as Professor G. P. Krapp points out, "that pronunciation is a kind of fine art, like playing the piano, which one acquires at its best only by following an authorized disciplinary method, by acquiring a system."¹⁶ The linguistic details of accent and intonation, minute as they are in relation to the whole of the language, are intuitively felt as symbols of "belonging," of harmony with one's associates and one's environment. When an individual is inhibited from using them, he loses contact with his environment and becomes unrooted and spiritually homeless. The speech which one acquires from one's associates in the normal contacts of living is likely to be that in which one will speak simply, sincerely, and honestly.

III. *Missouri speech offers a valuable field for study.* Missouri has received more attention than most states in language study, because the Ozarks, which make a "speech-pocket,"¹⁷ contain such rich, rewarding material. In 1903 D. S. Crumb published a paper on "The Dialect of South-eastern Missouri";¹⁸ later J. W. Carr made some studies;¹⁹

counter-demand of tangible logic, in a point observed by well-spoken Missourians, supports the reforming impulse of the teacher.

¹⁵"Concerning the American Language," in *The Stolen White Elephant* (Boston, 1882), p. 269 (a postscript to writing of 1880).

¹⁶*The English Language in America* (N. Y., 1925), Vol. I, p. 354.

¹⁷Vance Randolph has discussed "Is There an Ozark Dialect?" in *American Speech*, Vol. IV (February, 1929), pp. 203-04. The most notable feature of American speech is its near approach to uniformity from coast to coast; but the exceptions of certain districts like the Ozarks, which have been socially isolated, must be allowed. Charles Morrow Wilson treats of the speech of "Ozarkadia" in "Elizabethan America," *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. CXLIV (August, 1929), pp. 238-44.

¹⁸*Dialect Notes*, Vol. II, pp. 304-37.

¹⁹In his "List of Words from Northwest Arkansas" in *Dialect Notes*, Vol. II (1904), pp. 416-22, he states that "Most of the peculiarities of speech of Kentuckians, Tennesseans, and Missourians are to be found in the dialect of Northwest Arkansas" (p. 416); and in his fourth list (in collaboration with Rupert Taylor), *ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 205-38 (1907), he has a section "Southernisms Common to Northwest Arkansas and Southeastern Missouri."

J. B. Taylor collected more than 800 words in McDonald County in 1923;²⁰ and since then Vance Randolph has collected several meaty vocabularies.²¹ Some of the words of closely restricted areas may have had their source, he thinks, in the imitation of the type of person known as the "jokey feller".²² The popularity or "vogue" of words is a difficult matter to determine; but it appears that many words which elsewhere are book-words or "high-brow" words are used in the Ozarks in ordinary popular speech.²³ The "taboo" words differ, also.²⁴

Randolph has also dealt with the phases of grammar²⁵ and pronunciation,²⁶ and has pointed out that many of the peculiarities are survivals from the Elizabethan and even Chaucerian periods of the language.²⁷ Very little reflection

²⁰"Snake County Talk", *ibid.*, Vol. V, (1923), pp. 197-225.

²¹"A Word-List from the Ozarks", *ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 397-405 (1926); "More Words from the Ozarks", *ibid.*, pp. 472-480 (1927); "A Third Ozark Word-List", in *American Speech*, Vol. V (October, 1929), pp. 16-21; and "A Fourth Ozark Word-List", *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (February, 1933), pp. 47-53. The total of words recorded is now well over 1500. Randolph's material is drawn from McDonald, Barry, Stone, and Taney counties in Missouri and Benton, Washington, Carroll and Boone counties in Arkansas. His article in collaboration with Isabel Spradley, "Quilt Names in the Ozarks", *ibid.*, pp. 33-36, shows what a marvelous wealth of nomenclature has developed in a very restricted field.

²²"A Possible Source of Some Ozark Neologisms", *ibid.*, Vol. IV (December, 1928), pp. 116-17.

²³Such as *caril*, *dilatory*, *proffer*, *docile*, *bemean*, *rectify*, *beguile*, *ponder*, etc.—in his "Literary Words in the Ozarks", *ibid.*, Vol. IV (October, 1928), pp. 56-57. A similar situation has been pointed out in England: cf. the chapter "Archaic Literary Words in the Dialects", in Elizabeth Mary Wright's *Rustic Speech and Folklore* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 36-76.

²⁴"Verbal Modesty in the Ozarks", *Dialect Notes*, Vol. VI, pp. 57-64 (1928)—the most readable of all Randolph's studies.

²⁵"The Grammar of the Ozark Dialect", *American Speech*, Vol. III (October, 1927), pp. 1-11.

²⁶In collaboration with Anna Ingleman, "Pronunciation in the Ozark Dialect," *ibid.*, Vol. III (June, 1928), pp. 401-07. Vernon C. Allison, "On the Ozark Pronunciation of 'It'," *ibid.*, Vol. IV (February, 1929), pp. 205-206, has made the valid criticism that *hit* is used only in places of stress.

²⁷In collaboration with Patti Sankee, "Dialectal Survivals in the Ozarks" in three papers: "I. Archaic Pronunciation", *ibid.*, Vol. V (February, 1930), pp. 198-208; "II. Grammatical Peculiarities", *ibid.*, (April, 1930), pp. 264-69; and "III. Archaic Vocabulary", *ibid.*, (June, 1930), pp. 424-30. A popular resumé, consisting of material from his previous studies, is to be found in his book, *The Ozarks: An American Survival of Primitive Society* (N. Y., 1931), Chap. IV, "The Ozark Dialect," pp. 67-86.

of Ozark speech can be found in dialect fiction.²⁸ Missouri is fortunate in having had such a thorough and conscientious investigator as Randolph working in this field.

Fascinating as the Ozark material is, it should not blind the student to the fact that a host of interesting words await the collector in other parts of the state. Raymond L. Weeks made a beginning in 1893 when he collected various usages from Kansas City.²⁹ He included such words as *butternuts* for overalls, *dummy*, *gumbo*, *johnnies* for violets, *kitty-corner* and *sock it to him*. Missouri has yielded rich material in folk ballads, as Professor H. M. Belden's collection³⁰ shows; and it follows that folk words must be present too. Collections are being made for an "American Dialect Dictionary", under the editorship of Percy W. Long at New York University, and the Missouri material should be made available for it. Even now the language is expanding.³¹

One should be aware that the words collected, interesting and apparently unique as they might be, are probably not confined to Missouri. One speaker before the Missouri Writers' Guild is reported as "Smiling at the expressions, peculiar to Missouri, such as 'allowed', 'howdy', 'these molas-

²⁸In a survey of Ozark novels up to 1926 ("The Ozark Dialect in Fiction", *American Speech*, Vol. II (March, 1927), pp. 283-89, Randolph deals too harshly with the first of the series, Monteith's *Parson Brooks* of 1884—not realizing that it has a setting near St. Louis, under strong Southern influence. In a later survey ("Recent Fiction and the Ozark Dialect", *ibid.*, Vol. VI, August, 1931, pp. 425-28), he concludes: "Beginning with Monteith's *Parson Brooks*, published in 1884, I have examined the dialect in every Ozark novel that I have been able to find—twenty-two of them in all. The dialect in most of these novels is, in my opinion, very bad indeed. The worst of all, it seems to me, is found in a novel called *Sally of Missouri*, by Rose Emmet Young. Incomparably the best Ozark dialect ever written in fiction, to my mind, is that of Charles Morrow Wilson. The next best—although far below the Wilson standard—must still be sought in the works of the eminent Harold Bell Wright!" Another treatment may be found in Charles Arnold, *The Missouri Ozarks as a Field for Regionalism*, MS Master's thesis, University of Missouri, 1930, section on Ozark dialect, pp. 130-140. Mr. Randolph has lately embarked upon fictional writing of his own.

²⁹"Notes from Missouri", in *Dialect Notes*, Vol. I, pp. 235-42 (1893); in two parts: I. Peculiar Words and Usages, and II. Pronunciation and Grammatical Points.

³⁰In manuscript, available at the Harvard University Library.

³¹Note Virginia Carter, "University of Missouri Slang", in *American Speech*, Vol. VI (February, 1931), pp. 203-06. Each year classes in English at Christian College, under the supervision of Mrs. Mary Paxton Keeley, make a study of current slang.

ses', 'et', 'you all', and 'I reckon'."³² Yet every one of these expressions is current over the South, from Maryland to Texas; and one of them, "et" as the past tense of *eat*, is the standard form in England, used exclusively by well-spoken people.

The word *Missouri* itself has entered into a number of combinations: of plants, "Missouri breadroot," "Missouri currant," "Missouri flax," "Missouri hyacinth," "Missouri pippin," and "Missouri silver-tree;" of animals, "Missouri antelope," "Missouri chipmunk," "Missouri skylark," "Missouri sucker," and the prehistoric "missourium;" of minerals, "Missouri silica" and "missourite" (found principally in Montana); of implements, "Missouri rifle," "Missouri whip," and "Missouri toothpick" (meaning a long knife); and in politics, "Missouri Compromise" and "Missouri question." In 1821 the aged Thomas Jefferson used the monster word *anti-Missourianism*, meaning opposition to the admission of Missouri as a state.³³ A kind of dance in vogue about 1846 was called "the Missouri," and later in the Far West bread was said to have a "Missouri-bake" when it was burnt on top and at the bottom and raw in the middle. The nickname "Puke" has been traced back to 1835, and its origin was thus explained in 1847 by Thomas Ford in his *History of Illinois*, p. 68: "It had been observed that the lower lead mines in Missouri had sent up to the Galena country whole hoards of uncouth ruffians, from which it was inferred that Missouri had taken a 'Puke', and had vomited forth to the upper lead mines, all her worst population." And the expression "I'm from Missouri" is a well-established addition to the English language.³⁴ According to a story from a reputable source,

³²Columbia Missourian, May 2, 1932, p. 2.

³³The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Definitive ed. (Washington, 1905), Vol. XV, p. 311.

³⁴The widespread newspaper discussion of the phrase is summarized in "Whence Came Those Magic Words 'I'm from Missouri'?", *The Literary Digest*, Vol. LXXII, No. 4 (January 28, 1922), pp. 42-44; reprinted in part in the *Mo. Hist. Review*, Vol. XVI (April, 1922), pp. 422-27. The expression "Gone up Salt River" could be attributed to Missouri (as in the *New York Dispatch* of 1857, quoted in the *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. XXVI (January, 1932), pp. 218-19, although it more probably refers to the Salt River in Kentucky; cf. also Miss Brashear, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45. For a story about *Piker* see Julian Street in *Collier's Weekly*, August 29, 1914, p. 34.

a Canadian colonel remarked to a British general, "My men are from Missouri and have to be shown"; and the literal-minded British general almost had a stroke of apoplexy in his effort to comprehend how a Canadian officer's men could come from Missouri.³⁵

Other studies of language can be made on the basis of Missouri writings. Early documents and newspapers give rich yield,³⁶ but the most rewarding of all are the works of Mark Twain. His language was first tackled in a doctoral dissertation at the University of Vienna, Austria, in 1923,³⁷ then in a study at the University of Chicago in 1924,³⁸ and since that time in an excellent series of studies at the University of Missouri.³⁹ The primary aim is not to find new and strange words, but to show how the words found reflect the culture of the time and place and the life of the people. The studies at the University of Missouri are doubly useful, because when the essay is completed the original notes are

³⁵Paul Shorey, "The American Language", in *Academy Papers* (N. Y., 1925), p. 142.

³⁶Two such doctoral dissertations at the University of Missouri are announced in *American Literature*, Vol. IV (January, 1933), p. 462: Elijah Harry Criswell, *The Vocabulary of the Lewis and Clark Original Journals, 1804-1806* (the early parts referring to Missouri), and Mary Paxton Keeley, *The Vocabulary of The Missouri Intelligencer from 1819 to 1834*.

³⁷Dürigl, Karl, *Die Abweichungen [i. e., "deviations"] vom Standard English in The Adventures of Tom Sawyer von Mark Twain* (Samuel Langhorn Clemens), single typewritten copy in the Universitätsbibliothek, Vienna, 178 pp.

³⁸Buxbaum, Katherine Louise, *An Analysis of the Vernacular in Mark Twain's Mississippi Valley Stories*, MS dissertation for the master's degree, 58 pp., the substantial part of which appeared in an article, "Mark Twain and American Dialect", in *American Speech*, Vol. II, (February, 1927), pp. 233-236.

³⁹These studies, under the direction of Professor R. L. Ramsay, are as follows (all are master's theses except the one otherwise noted): Alma Borth Martin, *A Vocabulary Study of "The Gilded Age"* (1929), 178 pp., and printed in abridged form by the Mark Twain Society (1930), 55 pp.; Frances Guthrie Emberson, *A Vocabulary Study of "Huckleberry Finn"* (1930), 233 pp.; Emma Orr Woods, *A Vocabulary Study of "Tom Sawyer"* (1932), 108 pp.; Ernestine Ernst, *A Vocabulary Study of "Life on the Mississippi"* (1932), 295 pp.; Florence Potter Stedman, *A Vocabulary Study of "The Prince and the Pauper"* (1932), 163 pp.; Avera Leolin Taylor, *A Vocabulary Study of "A Tramp Abroad"* (1932), 229 pp.; Georgia House Watson, *A Vocabulary Study of "Sketches New and Old"* (1932), 194 pp.; Amelia Madera, *A Vocabulary Study of "The Innocents Abroad"* (1932), 177 pp.; Frances Guthrie Emberson, *The Vocabulary of Samuel L. Clemens from 1852 to 1884*, Ph. D. dissertation (1932), 272 pp.; E. M. Webber, *A Vocabulary Study of "Pudd'n-head Wilson" and "Those Extraordinary Twins"* (1933), 179 pp.; and Donald C. Thompson, *A Vocabulary Study of "A Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court"* (1934), 189 pp.

sent to the office of the *Historical Dictionary of American English*, which is being compiled at the University of Chicago, and are used in tracing out the fortunes of words in the American vocabulary.

We sometimes forget that geographic names are as much a part of our vocabulary as the words that we use in every sentence. They must be learned and remembered like ordinary words, and they are subject to the same laws of language. The place-names of the state, then, form a branch of Missouri speech deserving of study. The commonly accepted explanation of the state name, "Muddy waters," has been shown by students of the Indian languages to be false. Dr. John R. Swanton of the Bureau of American Ethnology has written:

I think that there can be no doubt the name was not originally applied to the river, but to the tribe and was afterward transferred to the river, just as the Illinois is "the river of the Illinois", etc. On some old cards of the late Dr. Gatschet, who studied the Peoria language for some time, I find the interpretation given "people of the big canoes." The original form of the word was *Missourit*, and Dr. Michelson, our Algonquian specialist, says *Missourit* is composed of *missi*, 'big'; *ouri*, an inseparable stem meaning 'canoe'; and *-t*, 'one who uses,'—provided that the *n* of Chippewa *oni*, or *ouni* changes to *r* in Peoria, a very likely thing. At any rate, it seems pretty certain that the word is from some Algonquian dialect, since the name which the Missouri applied to themselves is *Niútachi*.⁴⁰

Even the abbreviation of the state name, "Mo.", is a hard nut to crack.⁴¹

A substantial beginning for the study of Missouri place-names was made by David W. Eaton in 1916 under the title, "How Missouri Counties, Towns, and Streams were Named."⁴² Since 1927 an intensive survey of the State has been under way by graduate students of the University of Missouri,

⁴⁰Quoted by Professor William A. Read in *Englische Studien*, Vol. XLVII, (December, 1913), pp. 169-70. This was first pointed out by Col. William F. Switzer in 1897, as quoted in the *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. XVII (January, 1923), pp. 231-32, and corroborated by J. Walter Fewkes, *ibid.*, (April, 1923), pp. 377-78. Cf. also J. T. Link, *The Origin of the Place Names of Nebraska* (Lincoln, 1933), pp. 72-76.

⁴¹See the discussion by Monas N. Squires in the *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. XXVI, (October, 1931), pp. 84-5.

⁴²Printed in the *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. X (April, 1916), pp. 197-213, and the four following issues.

under the supervision of Professor R. L. Ramsay. Already over half the state has been covered, and one day Missouri will rank with Minnesota, Nebraska, Washington, and Oregon, as having a complete and thorough treatment of its geographic names.⁴³

Finally, the spoken language of Missouri is an important field of study. It is a more difficult task than might be supposed to record the phonetics of a regional speech accurately. A beginning was made in 1891 when Professor C. H. Grandgent of Harvard collected samples of "English Sentences in American Mouths", and R. L. Weeks contributed a specimen from Missouri.⁴⁴ Among the phonograph records of American speech at Columbia University are several examples from Missouri.⁴⁵ At the present time there is being compiled a "Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada," under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies, and eventually Missouri will have to be mapped. The most important regions in this project are those where different dialect areas meet, and thus Missouri, which has been under such complex influences, will require special care in mapping.⁴⁶

True research can be done only with original, primary materials. The language of Missouri—in the form of its dialect vocabulary, the writings of its authors, its place-names, or the oral utterance of its inhabitants—can be used as a laboratory for studying linguistic phenomena. Edward Eggleston found that the study of folk-speech allows one to

⁴³The *University of Missouri Studies*, Vol. IX, No. 1 (January, 1934), is devoted to this project. The theses already completed are listed there on p. 40. The procedure worked out with such admirably systematic detail by Professor Ramsay (pp. 14-25), will undoubtedly have an influence upon the work in other states.

⁴⁴*Dialect Notes*, Vol. I, pp. 198-204 (1891). An excellent model for this kind of work is that by Hans Kurath, "A Specimen of Ohio Speech", in *Current Volume of Linguistic Studies* (1930), pp. 92-101.

⁴⁵This extensive collection is described by Harry Morgan Ayres and W. Cabell Greet, "American Speech Records at Columbia University", in *American Speech*, Vol. V, (June, 1930), pp. 333-58. Record No. 72B is from Lincoln county, Mo., and No. 121 from St. Louis; others have been added recently.

⁴⁶The writer has treated this point in his article, "The Strategic Position of Missouri in Dialect Study" in the *Missouri Alumnus*, Vol. XX (April, 1932), pp. 231-232; reprinted under the title "Folk-Speech in Missouri" in the *Arcadian Magazine*, Vol. II, No. 5 (June, 1932), pp. 13-14, and under the title "Dialect in Missouri", in part, in the *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. XXVI (July, 1932), pp. 426-27.

peek "through the chinking at the human mind in its mysterious workshop."⁴⁷ By treating intensively a closely defined speech-area, one can do work of genuine significance.

IV. *Folk speech, such as that of Missouri, can be a source of vitality to the language.* The French novelist Daudet once said, in speaking of the Russian Turgenev: "What a luxury it must be to have a great big untrodden barbaric language to wade into! We poor fellows who work in the language of an old civilization, we may sit and chisel our little verbal felicities, only to find in the end that it is a borrowed jewel we are polishing."⁴⁸ The stores of Missouri speech may well be this "great big untrodden barbaric language," which yields to the transforming touch of the artist. A spokesman of the "New Regionalism" believes that "in folk speech, including dialect, idiom, and metaphor" writers will find "their most potent sources of regeneration."⁴⁹

There will always be, no doubt, a division between the "standard" literary language and the speech of "plain folks." Yet at the same time there should be a filtration from folk speech into the literary language if the latter is to have vitality and growth. The presence of local elements produces a "regional standard," sufficiently like the general body of English so that ease of communication is not affected and yet sufficiently individual so that the speech has a distinctive character. So fastidious a scholar as Professor Henry van Dyke has said that "Dialect and local accent—brogue and burr—are the spice of talk."⁵⁰ Anyone who has the stores of Missouri speech at his command has a wealth to draw from for his writing and his conversation.

⁴⁷*Century Magazine*, Vol. XLII (April, 1894), p. 856.

⁴⁸Quoted in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, Vol. LXXII (January, 1886), p. 324b.

⁴⁹B. A. Botkin in *Folk-Say: a Regional Miscellany* (Norman, 1929), p. 10.

⁵⁰Before a conference of American and British Professors of English at Columbia University, quoted in the *New York Times*, June 14, 1923, p. 7b.

THE EXCLUSIVE TRADE PRIVILEGE OF MAXENT, LACLÈDE AND COMPANY¹

BY JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

It has been traditional in the history of Saint Louis that Pierre LaClède and Antoine Maxent, merchants of New Orleans, were given in 1762 or 1763 an exclusive right to the Indian trade in the Missouri River Valley and all of the country west of the Mississippi as far north as the St. Peters river.² The documentary evidence hitherto offered in support of that claim has been slight; the principal reliance has been put upon the *Journal* of Auguste Chouteau. Chouteau, assistant to LaClède in the founding of Saint Louis, clerk in the company, and after its dissolution partner of LaClède, said that D'Abbadie in 1762 made a grant of the exclusive trade for a period of eight years to this company.³ Part of his statement is incorrect: either the grant was made by Kerlerec in 1762, or by D'Abbadie in 1763. This inaccuracy, however, does not necessarily disqualify the *Journal*, for what Chouteau said there is in the main confirmed from other sources.

¹I am indebted to Dr. Ralph Bieber of the Department of History, Washington University, for much helpful criticism.

²See: Paxton, John A., *St. Louis Directory and Register* (St. Louis, 1821, not paged); Beck, Lewis C., *A Gazetteer of the States of Illinois and Missouri* (Albany, 1823), p. 324; Primm, Wilson, "History of St. Louis," in *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1913), p. 162 (first published in 1831); Wetmore, Alphonso, *Gazetteer of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1837), p. 194; Nicollet, Joseph N., "Sketch of the Early History of St. Louis," in *Report Intended to Illustrate a Map of the Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River* (Washington, 1843), pp. 75-92; Edwards, R., and Hopewell, M., *Edwards' Great West* (St. Louis, 1860), p. 238ff; Switzler, Wm. F., *Illustrated History of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1879), p. 145; Scharf, J. Thos., *History of Saint Louis City and County* (Philadelphia, 1883), Vol. I, p. 63.

Most of these writers cite no authority for their statements. Beck makes an indirect credit to Pittman. Otherwise those writing before the publication of the *Journal* were apparently indebted to Auguste Chouteau in person, to his statements before the Land Commissioners (*Hunt's Minutes*, Vol. I, pp. 125-127), or to his notes and private papers; and those writing afterward, to the *Journal* itself. There was no further confirmation.

³"Journal of the Founding of St. Louis," in *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (1911), pp. 335-336.

Some writers have chosen to deny that such an exclusive grant was ever made. Louis Houck, whose history of Missouri is the most comprehensive yet produced, dismissed as doubtful the LaClède claim advanced by Margry.⁴ "It is doubtful," said Houck, "whether the firm ever had a grant to the exclusive trade with the Indians on the Missouri, as is generally stated."⁵ Houck seems to place his chief reliance on the fact that LaClède lost the suit brought by Datchurut and Viviat. But the very fact that LaClède did cause the property of these merchants to be seized indicates strongly that in trading on the Missouri they were trespassing on the supposed rights of Maxent, LaClède and Company.⁶ It is unreasonable to think that LaClède would undertake such drastic action without good authority. Though we have at the present time actually very little material toward a history of Maxent, LaClède and Company, we do have sufficient to establish beyond question that an exclusive grant was made.

According to Foucault,⁷ D'Abbadie on his arrival as Director-General of Louisiana was much concerned over the languishing state of the colony and cast around for means to bring about a more prosperous condition. Recalling that exclusive trading privileges had previously been granted in Canada, and, as he found, in Louisiana,⁸ considering that

⁴Pierre Margry to E. B. Washburn, Sept. 7, 1877. Printed in Scharf, *History of Saint Louis City and County*, Vol. I, p. 64 n.

⁵*History of Missouri, From the Earliest Explorations and Settlements Until the Admission of the State Into the Union* (Chicago, 1908), Vol. II, p. 2.

⁶Cf. the language of the document given by Frederic L. Billon in *Annals of St. Louis Under the French and Spanish Dominations* (St. Louis, 1886), p. 51: "... the merchandise that had been seized upon his [LaClède's] petition, the — day of April, 1765, as having the exclusive control of the trade from Mr. D'Abbadie."

⁷Foucault to the Minister, New Orleans, August 2, 1765. Ms., Paris, Archives Nationales, Colonies, C13, A45: 128. All references hereafter to Foucault are to this letter.

⁸Two citations will suffice to indicate the precedent for D'Abbadie's action: (1) The exclusive trade in peltries on the Missouri and Illinois rivers was granted to Marain and Outlas, Canadians residing at the Illinois, for a term beginning July 1, 1729 (*Mississippi Provincial Archives*, Vol. II, p. 260). (2) The exclusive trade on the Missouri was granted to the Sieur Derulsseau for the period from January 1, 1746, to May 20, 1750 (listed in Surrey, *Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives and Libraries Relating to the History of the Mississippi Valley to 1802*, under date of August 8, 1744). The first of these grants was by the Company of the Indies; the second, by the governor, Vaudreuil.

such grants would not merely stimulate the trade itself but would be most useful in the control of the Indians and of the traders in their relations with the Indians, and knowing that such grants would free commerce from the commandants of posts who often used their positions as absolute masters of their districts to embarrass the free traders for their own pecuniary advantage, he was inclined toward exclusion in the trade. But before deciding he conferred, on the relative merits of exclusion and free trading, with Kerlerec, the retiring governor, Macarty, former commandant in the Illinois, Neyon de Villiers, then commandant in that place, Bohe, *ordonnateur* there, and with several old colonists who had traded for years with the Indians. In the light of all evidence, reinforced by the opinions of these persons, he came to the conclusion that the best thing for the colony was to grant exclusive trading privileges for the various districts of Illinois, Natchitoches, Arkansas, and Pointe Coupée. He sent a full report to the Minister and, while waiting for his orders, made tentative grants.

Of the composition of the company then formed there is some doubt. Choiseul refers to "a Company Composed of 5 or 6 Merchants to whom you have accorded an exclusive privilege for the Commerce and Trade with the Savages."⁹ Foucault, at the beginning of the letter already cited, repeats this number, but in another place refers to "6 Merchants." Jean de LaClède said that his brother Pierre received the exclusive privilege in return for services to the Colony and that he associated with himself "Maxan and Dée, merchants of New Orleans."¹⁰ Rivoire mentioned persons named Maxan as having the exclusive trade of the Illinois and Beau that of the Natchitoches.¹¹ It is possible that Foucault

⁹The Duc de Choiseul, Minister of the Marine, to D'Abbadie, Director, Versailles, January 18, 1765. *Ms.*, Paris, Archives Nationales, Colonies, B 121: 670 (Copy in Library of Congress). References hereafter to Choiseul correspondence are to this letter.

¹⁰Memoire of Jean de LaClède (elder brother of Pierre), accompanying a letter to the Minister, Pau, February 26, 1781. *Mss.*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. Acq. fr., 9302:258ff (*Coll. Margry*). This letter and memoir, with other documents, formed the basis of Margry's oft-cited letter to Washburn.

¹¹Rivoire to the Marquis de Grimaldi, Spanish Minister of War and Marine, Louisiana, June 25, 1764. *Ms.*, Paris, Archives Nationales, Colonies, C13, B. 1 (Copy in Library of Congress). References hereafter to Rivoire are to this letter.

and Choiseul were thinking of the entire group to whom exclusive privileges for the several localities were granted; but it may be that there were two or three persons besides Maxent, LaClède and Dée in the company which received the Illinois grant. The tenor of Foucault's letter implies that four different groups received each a grant, for, to show that no one group was gaining control of all commercial returns in the Colony, he pointed out that the exploitation of lumber, the culture of indigo, of sugar, of tobacco, and all the other various industries and businesses were open to all, and that the fur trade was only one part (and not the best one) of the business of the Colony. D'Abbadie himself, Foucault stresses, had no personal share in the arrangements or expectation of gain or any advantage whatsoever.

The exclusive privileges were apparently granted July 6, 1763.¹² On August 3, according to Chouteau's *Journal*, LaClède left New Orleans, at the head of a "considerable armament," to go to the Illinois country in order to establish a post for the control of the territory granted. He stopped at Ste. Genevieve but found no place adequate for his merchandise, and decided too that the location was not the best available. At the invitation of Neyon de Villiers, commandant of the Illinois, he proceeded to Fort Chartres, and stored his supplies in the fort. He arrived there on November 3, 1763.¹³ He apparently directed his attention to the business of the trade, and when this immediate work was finished, he prepared to form an establishment suitable to his commerce. In December, he explored all the country from Fort Chartres as far as the mouth of the Missouri river and selected as the most suitable location for the new post the present site of Saint Louis, a choice which won the approval of every intelligent traveller who visited the place in the next hundred years. In February, 1764, LaClède sent over from Fort Chartres a party of workmen under command of Auguste Chouteau (then about fourteen years old), who had been

¹²Foucault.

¹³The accuracy of this date is confirmed, for we find LaClède bidding at the sale of the Jesuit property at Kaskaskia, on November 6, 1763. He bid as high as 39,000 livres; the property sold for 40,100 livres. (*Collections of the Illinois Historical Library*, Vol. X, pp. 125ff.)

with him in December, to lay the foundations of the post. Since the east side of the Mississippi had been ceded to the English, LaClède induced a number of families from the older French settlements to cross the river and settle in the new town of Saint Louis. It is interesting to note that when St. Ange, commandant of the Illinois, delivered up Fort Chartres to the English in October, 1765, he went not to the old settlement of Ste. Genevieve but to the new one of Saint Louis and established in the latter place the new *chef-lieu* for the Illinois.

In 1764, we are informed, D'Abbadie lent the "company of merchants who had undertaken the exclusive trade of the posts of this [Illinois] country" three hundred pounds of powder which, up to February 12, 1765, they had been unable to return because they had received none from France.¹⁴ In April, 1765, at the request of LaClède, acting in his own name and in that of Maxent, LaClède and Company as grantees of the exclusive trade rights on the Missouri, the French authorities seized on the Missouri river a boatload of merchandise belonging to Datchurut and Viviat, merchants of Ste. Genevieve.¹⁵ Since the Minister's letter cancelling the privileges was dated Versailles, January 18, 1765, it is not possible that LaClède in April of the same year could be aware of that cancellation. It was only on July 10 that Aubry wrote to the Minister informing him that he (Aubry) had complied with orders and had written to the commandants of posts the new instructions; from the eager and hurried obedience implicit in Aubry's letter it is reasonable to assume that his letters to commandants were probably dated in July and probably could not reach the Illinois much before the first of October.¹⁶ It is obvious then that LaClède was acting entirely within his rights in causing the seizure to be made.

A year later, on May 4, 1766, Fraser, writing to Haldimand, mentions that "The NO: Company for the Furr-

¹⁴*Collections of the Illinois Historical Library*, Vol. X, p. 435.

¹⁵Billon, *Annals of St. Louis in Its Early Days Under the French and Spanish Dominations*, pp. 50-51.

¹⁶Aubry to the Minister, New Orleans, July 10, 1765. Ms., Paris, Archives Nationales, Colonies, C13, A 45.

trade have confin'd their Commerce to the Missouri River Since, which falls in, about five leagues above our most Northern Settlement in the Illinois, private Traders are permitted to go every where else"¹⁷ At the end of August in the same year, Lieutenant Pittman (with Captain Harry Gordon and Ensign Hutchins) paid a visit to Saint Louis, where apparently he met LaClède himself,¹⁸ and he discovered that the town "was first established by a company of merchants, to whom Mons. D'Abbadie had given an exclusive grant for the commerce with the Indian nations on the river Missouri"¹⁹

In the meantime there was apparently more than one complaint made against the exclusive privilege. When D'Abbadie wrote to the Minister on June 7, 1764, he inclosed a petition from the merchants of Louisiana who protested against the exclusive privileges which had been granted different groups of merchants.²⁰ On the 25th of the same month, Rivoire wrote from Louisiana to the Marquis de Grimaldi advising him strongly against following the policy of D'Abbadie in making exclusive grants. The result of these (and probably other) communications we find in the letter of the French Minister of Marine, Choiseul, to D'Abbadie of January 18, 1765. Choiseul expressed there great surprise at the conduct of the Director and ordered the cancellation of the grants. Just why the Minister should be so virtuously indignant is not clear: one must choose to think that either he was woefully ignorant of the past history of this Colony he was administering, or that he had some bread of his own to butter.

D'Abbadie died before the letters of Choiseul reached him and Aubry, succeeding to the command, on July 10, 1765, acknowledged the receipt of the Minister's letter of Feb-

¹⁷*Collections of the Illinois Historical Library*, Vol. XI, p. 229.

¹⁸Gordon tells that he met LaClède. See, "Journal of Capt. H. Gordon, 1766," in *Collections of the Illinois Historical Library*, Vol. XI, pp. 299-300.

¹⁹Pittman, Phillip, *The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi*, edited by Frank H. Hodder (Cleveland, 1906), p. 94. Pittman's book was first published in London in 1770.

²⁰D'Abbadie to the Minister, New Orleans, June 7, 1764. *Ms.*, Paris, Archives Nationales, Colonies, C13 44: 58.

ruary 9 and informed the Duke that his instructions had been fully carried out. On August 2, Foucault, Intendant of the Colony, acknowledged receipt, by Aubry and himself, of the Minister's letter to D'Abbadie of January 18, 1765, and sent the Minister a detailed explanation of the origin and nature of the grants, and an expose of the complaints made against D'Abbadie and his arrangements.

I have already pointed out that it was in the midst of this slow correspondence that LaClède had caused the seizure of the Datchurut-Viviat merchandise. The case, when appealed to New Orleans, was decided against Maxent, LaClède and Company, for by that time the emphatic orders of the Minister of Marine had been received. On April 30, 1767, therefore, we find LaClède petitioned to have a re-examination of the goods seized in order that a settlement might be arrived at. There is a possibility that the grant was reaffirmed by Ulloa (and if so, may have formed a contributing cause to the dislike of him), but only temporarily.²¹

At present there is little more to say of Maxent, LaClède and Company. Apparently after the loss of the exclusive grant, Maxent lost interest in the possibilities of the Missouri river trade and decided to confine his attention to business at the posts in the lower part of Louisiana. On May 8, 1769, at New Orleans, Maxent and LaClède agreed to dissolve their partnership (they appear to be the only persons now in the company). LaClède gave notes for 80,000 livres in silver by which he acquired the three-fourths interest which Maxent had held, including all right in the various property owned by the company at Saint Louis.²² Thereafter LaClède traded either independently or in partnership with Auguste Chouteau and with Silvestre Labbadie.

²¹Gayarré, Charles, *Histoire de la Louisiane* (2 vols., New Orleans, 1846-1847), Vol. II, p. 203. " . . . Ulloa had only continued existence of a privilege created by a French Governor. . . . "

²²Photostat in *LaClède Papers*, in the Library of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis. The original is in the New Orleans Archives.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF FICTION ON THE MISSOURI FRONTIER (1830-1860)

BY CARLE BROOKS SPOTTS

SIXTH ARTICLE

CHAPTER III

THE NOVEL

I

The novel in America developed late. *Humphrey Clinker*, the last novel of the great eighteenth century English novelists, was published in 1771. Yet a quarter of a century later Royall Tyler found little novel reading in America. Though novels were formerly used in good measure in our seaports, he said in the preface to *The Algerine Captive* in 1797, "if known in the country, [they] were read only by the families of clergymen, physicians, and lawyers; while certain funeral discourses formed the most diverting part of the farmer's library."¹ Dr. Loshe's research in the early American novel brought to light only thirty novels before 1800, and of the 142 listed as produced before 1830 I have recognized none by a Missouri author.² By 1816 Flint found two booksellers in Cincinnati and later reported, "unhappily novels were the most salable article."³ That these novels were not written by Western authors seems certain. Aside from the works of Hall and Flint only fourteen books of fiction published before 1840 are listed in Professor Rusk's bibliography, and several of these volumes are annuals and short story collections.⁴ Contrast this with his ninety-five page bibliography of controversial writings.⁵

¹Quoted by G. P. Lathrop in "Early American Novelists," *Atlantic*, Vol. 37 (April, 1876), p. 404.

²Loshe, Lillie Deming, *The Early American Novel, 1789-1830* (New York, 1907), pp. 106-120.

³*Recollections of the Last Ten Years*, p. 48.

⁴Rusk, *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier*, Vol. 2, pp. 351-353.

⁵*Ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 185-280.

The first novel published in St. Louis by a St. Louis author was Pierce C. Grace's *The Unknown* (1849).⁶ Before that, however, several novels were written in Missouri and published in serial form in local periodicals or in book form by Eastern publishers. Nathaniel Beverley Tucker's *George Balcombe* (1836), if written in Missouri, was probably the only novel of the thirties. A dozen or more have been found belonging to the forties and fifties. Probably others that were not thought worthy of republication are buried in the approximately two hundred Missouri newspapers and magazines that had been in existence before 1860.

The objection made to fiction on grounds of religion and morality undoubtedly did much to discourage the early American writers of the novel.

Between the Bible and novels there is a gulf fixed [said Timothy Dwight] which few novel readers are willing to pass. The consciousness of virtue, the dignified pleasure of having performed one's duty, the serene remembrance of a useful life, the hope of an interest in the Redeemer, and the promise of a glorious inheritance in the favor of God are never found in novels.⁷

Other objections of the time were plentiful. It was argued that novels were lies, that they served no useful purpose, and that they "painted adventure too romantic and love too vehement."⁸

That the Missouri writers had a similar prejudice to overcome is indicated in the conciliatory prefaces which they prefixed to their novels, even until late in the nineteenth century. They were at least careful to point out that their novels were based on fact and that they would teach good moral lessons. The writer of *Theodosia Ernest* (St. Louis, 1856), for example, gave the parables as a precedent.

Yet the objection was probably less pronounced than in New England and other parts of the East. No objection seems to have been raised against the short story. Novels were reviewed and quoted from quite frequently in the early

⁶Breckenridge, William Clark Breckenridge, p. 216.

⁷*Travels in New England and New York* (London, 1823), Vol. I, p. 477, quoted by Loshe in *The Early American Novel*, p. 1.

⁸Van Doren, Carl, *The American Novel* (New York, 1921), p. 3.

Missouri newspapers and magazines.⁹ The book stores handled and advertised a good selection of novels,¹⁰ and the church itself soon became active in the publication and distribution of "Sunday-School novels."¹¹ Probably the respectability lent to the novel by Scott, and to a lesser degree by Cooper, did much to minimize criticism.¹²

In subject matter and treatment the novel from the Missouri frontier is not essentially different from the general production in the Ohio Valley and in the East for the same period. In the Ohio Valley, W. H. Venable found that the "decade beginning about 1845 was prolific of light and sensational fiction. . . . Exciting tales and romances were plentiful. This was the golden, or at least the gilded, age of what came to be called the 'Yellow Kivers,' the seed time and harvest day of the 'Blood and Thunder' novelists, chief among whom were Emerson Bennett and E. C. Z. Judson."¹³ Carl Van Doren finds that the lesser American novel as a whole during this period may be classified as dime novels, or novels of adventure, meant principally for boys, and sentimental romances which "fell increasingly into the hands of girls—especially of girls as molded and approved by American Victorianism."¹⁴

⁹For example, the *Missouri Intelligencer* of March 14, 1823, quotes Addison's review of Mrs. Susanna H. Rowson's *Charlotte Temple* (1790); the May 13, 1823, issue of the same paper quotes extensively from "the new American novel entitled, *The Pioneers: Or The Sources of the Susquehanna*," and gives other selections in later numbers.

¹⁰See the *St. Louis Beacon*, February 3, 1830; *Missouri Intelligencer*, June 19, 1829; *Commercial Bulletin and Missouri Literary Register*, June 26, 1835; *Boonville Observer*, January 7, 1845; etc. For names of some of the novels see Chapter I.

¹¹The *Daily Commercial Bulletin* of August 10, 1839, carried an advertisement listing the following "Sunday School Books For Sale at the Sunday School Depository, near the Court House, St. Louis *Bad Boy's Progress* . . . Representing by striking cuts, the successive stages of depravity. *Wild Flowers: Or The May Day Walk*, in which is given much useful instruction about birds, flowers, insects, etc. *Clara Stetens: Or The White Rose*, showing the influence of an injudicious distribution of presents; *Only a Cake* . . . illustrating the folly of idle curiosity, and the sin and danger of disobedience. . . . Also a variety of similar works."

¹²"On the shelf of many a well-stocked library you may find these [Scott's] works, strongly bound and bearing the lineaments of standard literature." *Western Journal*, St. Louis, Vol. 5 (February, 1851), p. 216.

¹³*Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley* (Cincinnati, 1891), p. 291.

¹⁴*The American Novel*, p. 115.

One who comes, then, to a study of the early trans-Mississippi novel with the hope that here, perhaps, far removed from the conventions that fettered most of the Eastern novels, some hardy pioneer or his wife may have set down in simple fiction the real story of frontier life is certain to be disillusioned. Some realistic glimpses there are, but they are revealed, for the most part, by people who had not yet identified themselves fully with the frontier. They had not developed a feeling that it was their frontier, and therefore had less reserve in telling what they heard, saw, and thought.

II

The question of whether Nathaniel Beverley Tucker wrote *George Balcombe* (New York, 1836) and *The Partisan Leader* (Washington, 1836) while he was in Missouri remains unsettled. The evidence seems to show that *The Partisan Leader* was probably written in Virginia and that *George Balcombe* was probably written in Missouri.¹⁵ *George Balcombe* may be, then, the first novel written west of the Mississippi. It was, at least, inspired by Tucker's long residence on the Missouri frontier and will therefore be considered here.

¹⁵Professor Rusk (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 302, note) cites Scharf (*History of Saint Louis City and County*, Vol. 2, p. 1589) and DeMenil (*Literature of the Louisiana Territory*, p. 71) as well as personal statements from DeMenil favoring the Missouri authorship. Opposing this view, Professor Rusk points out that Tucker left Missouri "by the autumn of 1833" three years before *George Balcombe* was published, that the novel begins and ends in Virginia, and that the postscript is dated February 13, 1836. It is true that Tucker left Missouri in 1833, and at the beginning of the year rather than at the end (See: *William and Mary College Quarterly*, Vol. 12, October, 1903, p. 88). The first scene, however, begins in Missouri and the scene remains a Missouri one almost throughout. The date of the postscript may have been made to suit the time of publication. Incidentally, the date of *The Partisan Leader* was moved ahead twenty years. Furthermore, both histories of Saline County (*History of Saline County, Missouri* [1881], p. 412; and W. B. Napton's *Past and Present of Saline County, Missouri*, [1910], p. 312) state that Tucker wrote *George Balcombe* while he was living in Saline county and that he wrote *The Partisan Leader* shortly after leaving Missouri. Although county historians are often inaccurate, they have access to local papers, correspondence, and personal testimony not available to a historian of a larger area. In November, 1833, Duff Green, whom Tucker undoubtedly knew in Missouri, wrote to Tucker suggesting a series of articles on States' Rights. As *The Partisan Leader* is on this theme, and as it was intended to be issued in series, this novel may be the result.

The exact location of the scene in Missouri is difficult to determine, although one definite reference places it near the present site of Jefferson City.¹⁶ The plot of the story concerns the recovery of a Virginia estate from the villain Montague, who has fled to the frontier. As the story opens, two men riding horseback meet on the plains. They soon discover that they are both Virginia gentlemen, that they are both graduates of William and Mary, and that they are related. George Balcombe, one of these men, possesses superhuman psychological powers and is heroic in all his proportions. William, the other, is a weaker character, but also without spot or blemish.

The women in the story are beautiful, virtuous, and faultless. Montague, arch villain and hypocrite, is the black sheep in a good family. Keizer, the bad man of the frontier, is loyal, nevertheless, to Balcombe and is the most realistic character in the novel.

The reader is kept away from the cruder forms of frontier life, such life being used mainly as a background for the conversation and the action. From the very first chapter the two Virginia aristocrats take every opportunity to denounce that "fallacy of political fanaticism"—democracy. Only baseness, they conclude, keeps others from being aristocratic. Thus we hear contrasted the philosophy of the Old South and the aggressive democracy of the New West. A quotation will show the uses Tucker makes of the novel to further other pet ideas. Balcombe is his mouthpiece:

I mean to say that women ought not to be made ambitious of *intellectual distinction* or *distinction* of any kind. Such a feeling unsexes her. The feeling which disposes a woman to see her name in print is hardly less meretricious than that which makes her show her ankles. . . . Of one thing she may be sure. *A man of delicacy will not marry her. . . .* The education I speak of prepares a woman to receive instruction from her husband, and does not impair the natural and healthy disposition of her mind to receive his instructions as the teachings of truth and wisdom.¹⁷

Later criticism has not agreed with the extravagant praise given to *George Balcombe* by Poe, who called it the "*best*

¹⁶Vol. I, p. 220.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 276, 282.

American novel."¹⁸ William Gilmore Simms characterized the book less extravagantly.¹⁹ As Simms indicates, the novel is cold and intellectual. It is written, however, in a vigorous style, only occasionally marred by ornateness in dialogue. And back of the style one feels the force of a dominant personality.

Beverley Tucker, as he was called, was thirty-one years old when he came to Missouri in 1815. He was by birth and training an aristocrat. He was the son of St. George Tucker, member of a prominent English family of Bermuda, who, after coming to Virginia, married the widow of John Randolph, mother of the celebrated John Randolph of Roanoke. Beverley Tucker attended William and Mary College and practiced law before coming to Missouri. His character, philosophy of life, and most of his opinions and prejudices were probably well established before he came to the West. His mental outlook was mostly a Virginia product. It is probable that his life in Missouri only served to fix his beliefs more firmly. The untamed frontier life into which he was thrown would likely make him eager to develop there a feudal system with its proved merits—whatever its defects. Here, he must have thought, was democracy reduced to its absurdity. Let the rabble vote and they will send to the legislature such men as Martin Palmer, who called himself the "Ring-tail Painter."

In Missouri, Tucker strove to keep himself aloof from the common people—especially those of the "Universal Yankee Nation." After experiences in St. Louis as a practicing lawyer and as Judge of the Northern Circuit, he established in Saline county about 1830 a plantation of Southern dimensions which he named "Ardmore." His selection of the site was, no doubt, influenced by the fact that he would have there cultured and sympathetic neighbors. The year before moving to "Ardmore" Tucker had married on April 13, 1830, at Franklin, Missouri, Lucy Anne Smith, an "elegant, hand-

¹⁸"Marginalia," CCXXV.

¹⁹A. Simm's letter, quoted by Duyckinck, *Cyclopedia of American Literature* (New York, 1856), p. 666. Some Tucker-Simms correspondence may be found in Trent, W. P., *William Gilmore Simms* (Boston and New York, 1892).

some, refined, and educated woman."²⁰ She was the daughter of Brigadier General Thomas A. Smith, also a native of Virginia, who had two years before settled in the region now chosen by Tucker.²¹ Smith had here a "prairie farm of such ample extent that a British peer would covet it."²² This five-thousand-acre farm, which he called "Experiment," was brought under excellent cultivation by his large number of slaves. His home was a "favorite place for the 'quality' people of those days."²³ Among these 'quality' people were Senator Thomas H. Benton, Dr. John Sappington, and probably John Hardeman, who had a plantation twenty-five miles long to the southeast.

III

Perhaps the best picture of western Missouri and eastern Kansas during the period preceding the Civil war is that drawn by a young woman who had little enthusiasm for the frontier. The novel was called *Western Border Life; or What Fanny Hunter Saw and Heard in Kansas and Missouri*.²⁴

Who the author was I have not discovered. It seems unlikely that it was Fanny Hunter, for she is the leading character in the story. From the dedication we learn that she is a preacher's daughter. There she asks her father to be charitable to this, her first book. The preface adds that "by a long residence as a familiar member of a family in the further part of Missouri, she became acquainted with the actual condition of things, and knows whereof she affirms, much better than any stranger."²⁵ Like the heroine, Fanny Hunter, the author had probably come from New England.

²⁰ Napton, *Past and Present of Saline County*, p. 311. Tucker's second wife, Eliza Naylor, whom he had married at St. Charles in 1828, died within five months. (Billon, F. L., *Annals of St. Louis In Its Territorial Days, 1804-1821*, p. 283). Prof. P. W. Turrentine, whose forthcoming study, *Life and Works of Nathaniel Beverley Tucker*, should clear up many difficulties, informs me that Tucker married Mary Coalter of Elm Grove, Va., on February 9, 1809, and that she died in Missouri in 1827. Eliza Naylor was a niece of his first wife.

²¹ General Smith was probably the original of George Balcombe.

²² Wetmore, *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri*, pp. 215-216.

²³ *History of Saline County* (1881), p. 411.

²⁴ Printed in New York and Cincinnati, 1859; reprinted as *Fanny Hunter's Western Adventures* (Philadelphia, 1863).

²⁵ *Western Border Life*, Preface, pp. v-vi.

At least she is thoroughly familiar with New England life and strongly prejudiced in favor of New England ways. One may hazard the guess that she came with some of the New England Abolitionist groups, who were zealous to make Kansas a free state.

The preface indicates the point of view in the novel:

The writer has thought, that at this time, when the question of freedom in Kansas is agitating the public mind, she might render a good service to humanity, by sketching a picture of the social and moral life which the border counties of Missouri are endeavoring to force upon the new territory, and the struggle, as of life and death, in which it finds itself involved....

The writer, however, seems more interested in the evils of slavery in Missouri than in the border strife.

As has been indicated, the main value of the novel lies in its descriptive scenes, most of which center around the Squire Catlett family of LaBelle Prairie, — County, Missouri. It is a very large household to which the reader is introduced. It consists of the Squire, Mrs. Catlett, a half-dozen or more negroes, and twice as many children, white and black, and yet almost everyone is sharply characterized. To this family comes the young Connecticut school teacher, Fanny Hunter, to conduct a private school for the Catletts.

Fanny Hunter is the conventional heroine, without intended spot or blemish, but the frontier characters, especially the women, are clearly, if not skillfully drawn. Mrs. Catlett is nervous, worried, steeped in the prejudices of her time, and constantly scolding. But she is not essentially unkind, except to a few of the negroes whom she dislikes. Dazed with her responsibilities, she finds relief in her pipe, which she lights with a shovel of coals from the fireplace. Mrs. Gamby, a widow who lives nearby, is contrasted sharply with Mrs. Catlett. Shrewd, vigorous, calculating, she drives her slaves hard and still has time to go over into Kansas to stake out a claim for herself.

With two exceptions, the negroes on the Catlett farm are not mistreated. They have their own hoe cakes and buttermilk in their cabins and get equal portions of food from the leavings of the Catlett table. Old Aunt Phoebe, no longer

able to work, is taken care of and gets a cup of coffee occasionally through the influence of little Maud. Squire Catlett thinks the free states are the "best off . . . but," he says, "I've got niggers, and I'll stick to 'em." A neighbor comments, "They work in Illinois, and that's what makes 'em rich. But I'll be hanged, if I hadn't rather laze about and be a little short on't, than to tear around like a Yankee for a bit."²⁶

The inevitable social barriers that existed between slave-owning families and the "poor white folks" is sharply pictured, as are the different strata of religious worship. Aunt Phoebe is able to get "happy" by singing negro spirituals while she rocks on her chair. The regular church services in the adjoining village are widely attended by all classes. Fanny Hunter was somewhat disturbed by the sprawling position of some of the congregation, but her greatest shock came when she attended the "big meeting," against Mrs. Catlett's advice that "nobody but poor white folks go to big meetin's. There'll be a perfect tribe of 'em there."²⁷ As Fanny Hunter and the children approach, they hear singing:

I want to go!
I want to go!
I want to go there too!
I want to go where Moses is!
I want to go there too!

their voices growing more and more vigorous with every line, until at last they reached the very climax of violence, and shouted "I want-to-go-there-too!" as though they would bring the roof down. . . .

One of the children explains:

"Lors, Miss Fanny, 'twill take 'em an hour. When they sing 'I want to go!' they begin at Adam, and go clean through the Bible. They've only got to Moses, you see, yet."

Inside they found the building jammed. People were sitting, kneeling, standing, and a few lying flat upon the floor. Even a rough plank overhead, which in some way helped to support the roof, was thickly crowded with men and boys, who sat dangling their limbs above the crowd.²⁸

²⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 164.

²⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 166-167.

Other scenes of interest are the cabin of the poor white, Tim Jenkins, Mrs. Gamby's plantation, the Christmas dance, and the wild and lawless expeditions into Kansas—all vividly done. The dialogue of such scenes, as has been illustrated, is natural and effective. On the contrary, the St. Louis society episodes—episodes which seem to have no purpose except that of providing Fanny with a husband—are conventional and stilted. Perhaps society people of the time spoke with more oratorical polish than we credit them with today, but it is doubtful if many could declaim in the rounded periods attributed to them by the author of *Western Border Life*.

Weaknesses of the novel are plentiful. Fanny Hunter, the mouthpiece of the author—if not the author herself—is constantly intruding her rather shallow philosophy upon the reader. The didactic purpose is too evident. Yet when Fanny Hunter tells not what she thinks, but what she "saw and heard in Kansas and Missouri," the resulting scenes are well worth our attention.

IV

Henry Boernstein's *The Mysteries of St. Louis*²⁹ is a novel of considerably more power than *Western Border Life* and yet is probably of less interest and value today. The writer was a good showman and journalist, and used all his arts in producing a novel that would thrill the reader.

Boernstein was born in Hamburg, Germany, in 1805. After a varied career in Europe as actor, dramatist, theatre manager, and newspaper man, he came to America with many other Germans in 1848. In St. Louis he added to the occupations listed above by becoming also brewer and politician.³⁰

²⁹*The Mysteries of St. Louis; Or, The Jesuits of the Prairie de Noyers. A Western Tale* (St. Louis, 1851). Frederick Muench translated it from *Die Geheimnisse von St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1851). (See, Bek, Wm. G., "The Followers of Duden," in *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 19, No. 2, January, 1925, p. 339).

³⁰For Boernstein's other writings and for other facts concerning his life see: Breckenridge, William Clark Breckenridge, p. 215; Edwards and Hopewell, *The Great West*, pp. 556-559; Scharf, *History of Saint Louis City and County*, Vol. I, p. 933; and Boernstein's autobiographical *Fünfundseibzig Jahre in der Alten und Neuen Welt* (Leipzig, 1884).

The Mysteries of St. Louis contains so many elements that it is difficult to characterize it. In it Boernstein is somewhat bitter about bigotry, false devoutness, and hypocrisy. Most of his villains read their Bibles. It is decidedly hostile toward the Jesuits. Yet its main purpose does not seem to be the ridicule of religious practices. Other minor purposes were to picture early St. Louis and the trials of the German immigrant in the new country. Perhaps it is best to call the book a belated novel of "mystery and horror." Many of the characters are thugs, counterfeiters, and polished villains. Their names betray them: Jeremy Smartborn, Samuel Fawks, Asa Populorium. Murders, fires, attempted seductions, live burials, and other similar melodramatic material fill the pages. The efforts of Maria and Charles to marry and the efforts of Father Boettcher to pay off the mortgage—which is due the day before he will have money to retire it—are added elements. And in the background are the secretly buried gold and the mysterious will held by Father Boettcher.

The novel gives one the impression of a story begun without definite plan and added to as sufficiently thrilling material came to mind. Yet the individual scenes are well presented and, considering the variety of the materials, reasonably well knit together. It is a novel of incident, but not without an undercurrent of satire. Although the novel is rare today, we may well believe a note appended to the volume telling of its popularity at the time of publication. A later dramatization of the novel was also popular.

V

Several other novels may be characterized briefly. James D. Nourse (1817-1854) was the author of two frontier novels, *Levenworth* (Louisville, 1848) and *The Forest Knight* (Philadelphia, 1846).³¹ *Levenworth* is a story of adventure and romance with both interests in about equal proportion. The fact that the outlaws that infested the Mississippi river

³¹For biographical facts see: DeMenil, *The Literature of the Louisiana Territory*, p. 320; also, *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (October, 1920), pp. 81-82.

banks enter into the story lends it some interest. However, such scenes exist only as a dim background for the adventure and romance of the story. The characterization is weak. Margaret, a daughter of one of the outlaws, is as fine a lady as the heroine, Inez, herself. The men are mostly villainous or heroic in their qualities.³²

Pierce C. Grace's novel *The Unknown* has over it an air of mystery not unlike that of a detective story.³³ The "unknown" is a character who unexpectedly appears in various disguises to protect Lady Harriet. In the end he proves himself to be of royal birth and marries the heroine. The plot is conventional but well developed, and the dialogue unusually natural for its time.

Because of the long popularity of his novels and the early date at which they were written, John B. Jones is worthy of brief mention. About 1835 he came to Arrow Rock, the historic river town, and while conducting a country store there is said to have written his two most popular books *Wild Western Scenes* and *The Country Merchant*.³⁴ About 1850 he left Arrow Rock and in 1856 returned to Philadelphia. Refused at first by publishers everywhere, *Wild Western Scenes* was finally purchased by J. B. Lippincott and Company of Philadelphia, who by 1856 were publishing the fortieth edition. Jones' Missouri-written and Missouri-inspired books are of the dime-novel type and despite faithfulness of scenery and factual background, they are as unreal and artificial as the yellow covered volumes that followed them in all parts of the country. In both books rather clumsy bantering is alternated with brief adventure.

Thomas (or Thompson) Westcott, the "Joe Miller, Jr." of the *Reveille*, wrote *John Filch; or The Inventor's Fate*. It is a fictionalized biography and appeared in the *Reveille*, starting with the issue of January 18, 1848. Later, Westcott

³²Dr. DeMenil is in error in the spelling of *Leavenworth* and in the statement that it contains "no love episodes." The last statement may apply to *The Forest Knight*, which I have not seen.

³³*The Unknown, A Prize Tale* (St. Louis, 1849). For details concerning the contest and prize see the *St. Louis Republican*, Sunday, June 17, 1849.

³⁴Napton, *Past and Present of Saline County, Missouri*, pp. 314-315. *Wild Western Scenes* was published about 1841; *The Country Merchant* was published shortly afterward.

wrote a *Life of John Fitch* (Philadelphia, 1857) as well as other historical works.

Both John Robb and Joseph Field issued short novels in connection with their volumes of short stories. Robb's *The Western Wanderings of a Typo* is the story of a young newspaper man and his adventures in the West. Field's *The Drama in Pokerville* is of better quality. The plot is ingenious. It is a light, humorous satire on the snobbery of some of the patrons of the theatre, together with a picture of theatrical people on the frontier circuits.

Xavier Donald McLeod (1821-1865), who was on the editorial staff of the *Daily Leader* (St. Louis) in the fifties, wrote a fictionalized travel sketch, *Pynnshurst* (New York, 1852), in which a triangular love story, not without some merits, is interwoven with a dull day by day account of travel abroad.³⁵ Augustin Kennerly's *The Heiresses of Fotheringay, A Tale Founded on Fact* (St. Louis, 1856) is a romance without a spark of imagination. Exposition is largely substituted for description.

Otto Ruppis (1819-1864), who was in St. Louis probably not over one year, published there *Der Prairie Teufel* (St. Louis, 1859) and *Das Vermachtniss Des Pedlars; Roman Aus Dem Americanischen Leben* (St. Louis, 1859). Frederick Muench, who was in Missouri for over a third of a century following 1835, published *Der Fleuchtling in Missouri* about 1853. Professor W. G. Bek³⁶ says that Muench was the author of other novels but he does not know the titles.

Although Edmund Flagg (1815-1890) spent many years in Missouri in connection with various periodicals and with law work, his novels seem to have been written while he was a resident of Ohio. His short novelette, however, appeared in the *St. Louis People's Organ*, November 5 to November 15, 1844. It is called *The Duchess of Ferrara*. Flagg is best remembered not for fiction but for his travel book, *The Far West* (New York, 1838).

³⁵For biographical facts see Duyckinck, *Cyclopedia of American Literature*, p. 695.

³⁶*Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (January, 1925), p. 339. I have not seen any of Muench's novels.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Although the Missouri frontier, like other newly settled regions, presented almost insuperable obstacles to the development of literature, many ambitious attempts were made to provide a literary outlet and environment. Public libraries, for example, were founded in small settlements only to perish after the initial inspiration had subsided; and in St. Louis ambitious literary journals arose, flourished for a few issues, and then disappeared or were merged with religious or commercial interests.

The most important fiction of this period (1830-1860) was only slightly influenced by the literature of the past. It grew from the tales related by the rivermen, the hunters, the settlers, and it was published in that most democratic of institutions, the newspaper. Its oral source is indicated by the peculiar spellings, the abundant use of italics, and the specific mention of the audience before whom the story was told—very often a group seated on the deck of a Mississippi steamboat.

The short-story writers were of two distinct groups. In the first, only Alphonso Wetmore is worthy of mention. His tales are the result of many years of travel as army paymaster through Missouri and the country to the northwest, where he had many exciting experiences and where he met the first-line frontiersmen—the hunters, trappers, Indian fighters—almost all of them unique characters. His stories are today buried in old newspapers and magazines and in the appendix to his *Gazetteer* (1837). Light, semi-humorous in tone, they give us realistic scenes of frontier life that no student of Middle Western literature and life can afford to overlook.

The second group of short story writers, whose main work is connected with the St. Louis *Reveille* in the latter forties, is composed of John S. Robb, Joseph M. Field, and Sol Smith. As editors of the *Reveille* they not only contributed tall tales freely to its columns but also made it one of the leading repositories for such tales in the country. Robb's

best work is collected in his *Streaks of Squatter Life and Far Western Scenes*, (Philadelphia, 1843) and Field's in *The Drama in Pokerville; The Bench and Bar of Jurytown and Other Stories*, (Philadelphia, 1847). Blair and Meine (*Mike Fink*, New York, 1933, p. 185) prefer both of Field's versions of the Mike Fink legend to any that have been told. One is given first rank for accuracy, one for artistic excellence. Both Field and Robb did work that is of interest today for several reasons. First, their stories are often fresh and interesting. Second, they reveal intimate details of frontier cabin life. Third, as has often been implied, and as Bernard DeVoto has recently shown in detail, they were of great influence on Mark Twain and the whole group of Western humorists.

The stories of the second group of writers differ from those of Wetmore mainly in that they deal with a more civilized, more sophisticated time; or, when they deal with a first-line frontiersman, such as Fink, they are treating a period that passed away with the arrival of the steamboat, the small village, the small community. The second group write of the settler in his amusements—at house raisings, county courts, electioneering, dancing, horse racing, gander pullings, and other light aspects of frontier life.

In the novel no such grouping of the figures seems possible. Several novels, however, stand out above the rest. Nathaniel Beverley Tucker probably wrote part or all of *George Balcombe* (1836) in Missouri and, if he did so, it seems to be the first novel written west of the Mississippi. Praised highly by Poe, the novel has considerable intellectual power but is weak in other particulars. It is remembered today more because of *The Partisan Leader* (1836) and Poe's praise than for its delineation of frontier life. The author lacked sympathetic understanding of character.

Most valuable for the student of frontier customs and manners is the volume *Western Border Life; or What Fanny Hunter Saw and Heard in Kansas and Missouri* (1856). The novel was written for the purpose of showing the border troubles of Kansas and Missouri after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Structurally weak, marred as is

George Balcombe by too much philosophizing, the novel, nevertheless, presents memorable and probably faithful, homely scenes from the life of the times. The characterization is excellent.

Henry Boernstein's *The Mysteries of St. Louis* (1851) is written by a man with more literary ability than either of the novelists so far mentioned. If his novel is less interesting today than "Fanny Hunter's" it is because he was too much interested in writing a mystery thriller. The book was popular in its day but is quite rare now. It was later dramatized.

Other writers and works worthy of mention in this summary are: James D. Nourse, *Levenworth* (1848) and *The Forest Knight* (1846); Pierce C. Grace, *The Unknown* (1849); John B. Jones, *Wild Western Scenes* (c. 1841); Thomas Westcott, *John Filch; or The Inventor's Fate* (1848); John Robb, *The Western Wanderings of a Typo* (1843); Joseph Field, *The Drama in Pokerville* (1847); Edmund Flagg, *The Duchess of Ferrara* (1844); and Xavier McLeod, *Pynns-hurst* (1852).

The novel offers less of value to the student of Missouri fiction than the short story. Too often in the writings of the forties and fifties the novels were weak imitations of better known works or were far removed from reality. Perhaps the tendency to "boost" in frontier society was sufficient to discourage faithful pictures of the times. The desire to escape in imagination the limitations of the frontier may also have been a strong factor. At any rate, the most authentic views came from those who never completely identified themselves with the frontier. The student who comes to a study of frontier literature with the hope that here some hardy pioneer or his wife may have set down in the form of fiction what life was like in the new settlements is bound to be disappointed. The frontiersman wrote letters, told stories, and even kept a diary, but a novel was a too sophisticated form of writing for him to attempt.

(The End)

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The atmosphere and traditions of the French origins of Missouri which still cling about historic old Ste. Genevieve are tending in recent years to become more generally known and appreciated throughout the State. Here, an increasingly large number of visitors avail themselves of the visual delights of low French houses with gabled roofs, shuttered windows, time-softened walls, and picturesque *galeries* shading white-washed interiors. These with French gardens and quaint inviting streets, all impregnated with an old-world fascination, allure and charm the visitor. That Missouri, however, possesses still more than a colorful shrine to a storied past as preserved at Ste. Genevieve, is a fact unknown to many. Numbers of Missourians would no doubt find it hard to believe that French is still spoken in the State, that French peasants, probably more numerous than at the time of the Louisiana Purchase, today carry on tiff-mining and cultivate their fields in Missouri, that descendants of French inhabitants are still confessed in French, that street-car conductors and sales girls in St. Louis return at night to homes where French is spoken, and that the *Guignolée* and French folk songs are still heard among the Missouri Creoles. That such is, nevertheless, a fact, is revealed in *The Survival of French in the Old District of Ste. Genevieve*, a doctoral dissertation by Ward Allison Dorrance, instructor in French and Italian at the University of Missouri. Although a linguistic study written primarily "to record something of the strange French speech of this district," the work cannot fail

to be of interest to the student of Missouri history, as the chapters dealing with historical and social backgrounds and with the folk-lore and folk songs of the Missouri French, are admirably written and are a mine of historical information not only on French colonial Missouri, but on the little-known subject of the present day Missouri French as well. The student of languages will, of course, find Mr. Dorrance's study a contribution of great value. The book has been recently published as Volume X, Number 2 of the *University of Missouri Studies*.

The District of Sainte Genevieve, the field of Mr. Dorrance's investigations, embraces a group of counties lying west of the Mississippi below St. Louis. Formerly an old political division dating from the days of the French, Spanish and American territorial governments, it includes the counties of Jefferson, Ste. Genevieve, Perry, St. Francois and Washington, and portions of the counties of Iron, Dent, Crawford, Franklin and St. Louis. Here Mr. Dorrance shared for months the life of Missouri's Creoles, accompanied them to the fields and mines, listened to them as they fiddled and sang, or communed as one of them in the quiet of an evening after the day's work was done on some lamp-lit *galerie*, where, with his audience gathered about him, the local *conteur* wove the spell of old French folk-tales and ballads. In towns and villages of the region, including the old French capital of Ste. Genevieve, Bloomsdale, Festus, Crystal City, DeSoto, Flat River, Farmington, Potosi, Old Mines, Racola, and Richwood, Mr. Dorrance heard the French language spoken, and observed and studied the speech, traditions, customs and history of the district.

Though within the region there is scarcely a community where Creoles may not be met, according to Mr. Dorrance, they are found in the greatest numbers in the interior. For Ste. Genevieve, for all its physical preservation of its rich historical heritage, contains but relatively few French inhabitants. The relentless processes of modernization together with the influx of Germans along the river below St. Louis, have driven the old inhabitants inland. Here, "where the force of outside influence grows very weak, the old language,

the old folk-tales and the old music have been kept alive." It is here, too, in and near the hills, where may be found in greatest numbers French peasants, descendants of the colonial inhabitants, "still speaking French and holding to the old ways, still suspicious of the Americans, beaten but continuing, to the end, little changed."

An entire Creole settlement at Old Mines in Washington county, some sixty miles west of Ste. Genevieve, was discovered by Mr. Dorrance through the aid of Father Van Tourenhout, the beloved Belgian Creole priest of Ste. Genevieve. Here among the six hundred families of the hamlet and parish under the supervision of Father Van Tourenhout, Mr. Dorrance took up his residence. Ninety per cent of these people, according to Mr. Dorrance, speak native French. The houses in which they live are little altered since early days—low sloping roofs and white-washed *galeries*, within, the simplest of hand made furniture and the *prie-dieu* below the crucifix. Mining, which is the chief occupation, is carried on, not as in the vicinity of Flat River and Joplin, but very nearly as in the days of the early French colonists. Indolent and carefree, the Creole miner hopes by Wednesday of a given week—at least he did until the present economic troubles—to gather enough ore to permit him to doze upon the *galerie* until the next. "On Sundays he goes to mass at Saint Joachim's, walking with a group of friends, or driving a *waghine* crowded with his formidably numerous family—the lot of them chattering their thorny and twisted *patois*." It is a scene, says Mr. Dorrance, from the province of Quebec.

Of the French folk-tales of the Old Mines region Mr. Dorrance writes that thanks to the "frosty length of winter nights and the remarkable tenacity of peasant memory . . . it is still today not too late to gather and to treasure up our local Creole folk-lore." The following vivid account of the performance of a *conteur*—one of many given on an open *galerie* at evening "with moths flitting against the lamp and Old Mines Creek singing in the dark,"—is of especial interest:

Once the tale is ready, the attitude of the audience justifies well enough any deliberation in the preparation. It is impossible to imagine the rapt attention, one may say even awe, with which such performances

are received. Grown men with hairy chests visible at their open collars, work-hardened hands relaxed in their lap, sit oblivious to the world, sighing, with tears in their eyes, or slapping their thighs or spitting upon the floor in mirth. This is all, remember, over a story of no greater complication than those of Hans Christian Andersen or of Uncle Remus.

The *conteur* speaks in a tone somewhat louder than ordinary. Like the Greek actor wearing the cothurnus, his stature must be greater than life. At times he gesticulates, pantomimes his story. There are winks of understanding, nudges; even his silences are eloquent of meaning. Dialogue is delivered with the intonation of natural conversation. In the heat of the narrative, the audience may interrupt—*Ah, faut croïrel, Ben, v'là qu'est chien! Oh, le malin!* [Oh, you bet! Well, That's mean as a dog! Oh, the rascal!]) But such interjections must arise from the text itself. Nothing is tolerated besides. It is impossible not to be touched by such a sight. . . . But should the outsider feel any mirth other than that proper to the tale, it is imperative that he conceal it; else there is angry silence from the *conteur*, and from his listeners, shame and hostility. Such impoliteness is not repaired with subsequent apologies. The damage is done. As well try to attract a second time the deer frightened by a camera flash at night. . . . Yet once an old *conteur* is "tamed", once he is sure of sincerity, he is proud to show off.

Historically, Mr. Dorrance contributes many facts of interest concerning the background of Missouri Creoles. One is surprised to learn that the clergy of nearby St. Louis preached frequently in French down to 1842 and that Father Van Tourenhout of Ste. Genevieve was still preaching French sermons at stated intervals as late as 1893. Also, though it is a more or less familiar fact that advertisements in St. Louis newspapers were printed both in French and in English for some years after the Purchase, the existence in 1856 of a Missouri newspaper, the *Moniteur de l'Ouest*, published entirely in the French language, will come as a surprise to many persons.

From the study of old French documents made available to Mr. Dorrance, vivid pictures of the life, customs and personages of the French period are delightfully reconstructed. Many students of Missouri history will be interested in glimpses of the French period not encountered in text books, such as the fact that our English-speaking ancestors along the eastern shore of the Mississippi were for the French "simply a band of marauders, scarcely less dishonorable in

their tactics than the Osages," and that for the majority of the French population the years immediately after the Purchase "corresponded distressingly to the carpet-bagging 'reconstruction' period of the South." These and other gleanings from the old French archives impress one with the truth of Mr. Dorrance's statement that "there has been a tendency to pass over the early colonial history of the State, to minimize the part played by the first French pioneers under their own and the Spanish government." Mr. Dorrance's efforts in behalf of the Missouri Creoles and their history are, therefore, especially welcome.

FIRST WOMAN TO VOTE IN MISSOURI

Few persons, undoubtedly, are aware of the fact that to Hannibal belongs the distinction of holding the first election at which the women of Missouri cast their first ballot under the Nineteenth Amendment, or that Mrs. Marie Ruoff Byrum of Hannibal cast the first vote cast by a woman at the Hannibal election and so was the first woman in Missouri to vote under the Nineteenth Amendment.

What might otherwise have been a forgotten and unimportant special election, called for the purpose of electing an alderman to fill out an unexpired term, thus became historic. The following announcement appeared in the Hannibal *Courier-Post* of August 31, 1920: ". . . This is the first election held in Missouri since Secretary Colby announced that 36 states had ratified the nineteenth amendment to the Constitution giving women the right of suffrage. . . ." As a similar item appears in the Jefferson City *Democrat-Tribune* of September 2, as no contradictory data on the subject has come to light, and since the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified but five days before the Hannibal special election, Hannibal's priority in an outstanding event in the State's history seems to be unquestionably established.

The original poll book of this historic election is now in the possession of Mr. M. K. Byrum of Jefferson City, Missouri.

JEAN BAPTISTE POINT DU SABLE

Of interest to Missourians—particularly to those who visited the cabin of Jean Baptiste Point du Sable at the Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago—is the fact that the first man reputed to have settled on the present site of Chicago was buried not in the city of which he is reputed by some persons to have been the founder, but in the Old Cemetery on Main Street in St. Charles, Missouri. A burial certificate, supposedly that of Point du Sable and bearing the date of August 28, 1818, is among the records of St. Charles Borromeo Church at St. Charles. This fact has recently been verified by Mr. Ben L. Emmons of St. Charles, Missouri, who has taken infinite pains in examining the St. Charles records and has informed the State Historical Society of Missouri of an investigation made by him of the records of the church.

The career of Point du Sable, who was by profession a trader, is characteristic of the careers of many of those individuals of mixed blood who shared in and contributed to the colorful life of the American frontier. Said by himself to be a "free mulatto man" and by others a "French-West-Indian Mulatto" and a "runaway slave from Kentucky," Point du Sable, prior to 1779, had a trading house and residence on the banks of the Chicago river. It is this circumstance of his roving career which has won for him his most enduring distinction of being the first resident of Chicago. In 1812, either he or his son, it is not known which, accompanied the Luttig fur-trading expedition on the Upper Missouri.

The first positive record of Point du Sable's residence in Missouri is one of 1805. According to Miss Stella M. Drumm, who has written the most authoritative biographical sketch of Point du Sable,¹ Point du Sable in that year purchased some land in St. Charles county from a negro named Rondin. Thereafter, until June, 1813, the records show that several transfers of property in the city and county of St. Charles

¹See: *Journal of a Fur-Trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri, 1812-1813*, by John C. Luttig. Edited by Stella M. Drumm. pp. 153-155.

were made jointly by Jean Baptiste Point Du Sable and by Point du Sable's son, Baptiste Pointsable, as the name was usually written to distinguish the son from the father.

The facts concerning the circumstances of Point du Sable's burial are revealed in a document of June, 1813, wherein Point du Sable (who was probably ill at the time), as 'Jean Baptiste Point de Sabre' conveyed a house and lot in the city of St. Charles, together with all his other property, to Eulalia Barada, wife of Michael Derais, who in return promised to care for him during his illness and at his death to bury him in the Catholic Cemetery at St. Charles. This document and the burial certificate now among the records of the Church of St. Charles Borromeo would seem to leave no doubt that Jean Baptiste Point de Sabre and Jean Baptiste Point du Sable were one and that the first resident of Chicago was buried in St. Charles.

THE PONY EXPRESS

Of particular interest in connection with the recent celebration at St. Joseph of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Pony Express is the following excellent notice of that event in the April 5, 1935, issue of the *Kansas City Star*:

In view of the fact that the pony express sytem which started seventy-five years ago this week, actually functioned for less than two years, the fame that it has achieved may seem somewhat out of proportion to the service it performed. But although in the period of their operation (April, 1860, to October, 1861), the pony express riders did carry several important documents between St. Joseph, Mo., and Sacramento, Cal., notably President Lincoln's inaugural address on the eve of the Civil War, it was the courage and resourcefulness displayed in their brief enterprise that have won for them their enduring prestige.

The pony express was probably the swiftest and most highly organized courier service that the world has ever known. Certainly, having regard for the distance traveled and the dangers encountered, it represented an achievement that, of its kind, has never been surpassed. The mechanical marvel, the telegraph, readily supplanted it. But the pony express was the culmination of thousands of years of communication without mechanical aid, when the world had to depend upon the runner or the rider. It also typified in a high degree the personal qualities that went into the development of the West. In the history of communication its importance is not great, but its place in American history is valued and secure.

DO YOU KNOW, OR DON'T YOU?

That the year 1820 on the Missouri seal is not the year of the admission of Missouri to the Union? Missouri was not admitted to the Union until August 10, 1821. Eighteen-twenty is the date of the adoption of the Constitution and of the organization of the State government.

That Marie Philip Leduc probably holds the record for office holding in Missouri? He served thirty-seven years under the Spanish, Territorial and State governments and gave faithful public service in twenty different offices, serving in as many as six at one time.

That the first formal memorial in America to Robert Burns was unveiled in Missouri? It was a bust of the poet, a gift of the Caladonian Society to the St. Louis Mercantile Library in 1866.

That a Missourian, Dr. Henry Smith Prichett, a native of Howard county, established standard time throughout the Mississippi Valley?

That there were two Dred Scott cases—both of them originating in Missouri? The first case ended in the Supreme Court of the State in 1852 and denied Scott his freedom after a favorable decision from the lower court. The second case—the more famous one—was tried in the United States District Court at St. Louis in 1854 and was appealed to the United States Supreme Court where, in 1857, the adverse decision of the lower federal court was upheld against Scott. Roswell M. Field, father of Eugene Field, had charge of the federal case and appealed the ill-fated cause of Scott to the highest court in the land.

That an adopted son of Missouri, Colonel John Smith, affixed the letter "T" to his surname to distinguish himself from other John Smiths and made the name John Smith T

one of the best known of his day? The outstanding fact in the colorful career of Smith is his widespread reputation as a duelist.

That Wilson Price Hunt's overland expedition from St. Louis to Astoria in 1811-12 was the first to traverse the route which later became famous as the Oregon Trail?

That the present State Capitol is the third of Missouri's permanent capitol buildings at Jefferson City? The first, erected in 1823, was destroyed by fire on November 15, 1839; the second, completed in 1853 and extensively remodeled in 1887-88, was also destroyed by fire in 1911. The present capitol, one of the finest in the United States, was completed in 1917.

TOPICS IN MISSOURI HISTORY

The subject of the French influence is one of the most interesting in the early history of Missouri. While it is true that the period of French political control of what is now Missouri actually terminated in May, 1770, when Upper Louisiana was formally surrendered to Spain, and that the French possession of Upper Louisiana from 1800-1804 can scarcely be said to have gone into effect, nevertheless, a rich cultural heritage was bequeathed to Missouri by France. This heritage, in contrast to the more official Spanish influence, was bequeathed through French inhabitants and French customs and continued quietly to bear fruit long after the termination of France's ownership of Louisiana and to contribute enduringly to the foundations of Missouri history. No period, moreover, abounds more in courage, romance and adventure. It is hoped that the following bibliography will serve as a guide and stimulus to a fascinating and historically significant subject.

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ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE PIONEER PRESS

THE EXAMINATION

At Columbia college¹ will take place on Wednesday 31st inst., beginning at 9h. A. M. precisely. All the friends of Education are invited to attend. The reports of the students will be read. Essays and declamations will be interspersed among the exercises.

The Exhibition in Speaking will be at 7h. P. M. Also a public address will be given at that time.

Columbia, March 20, 1841.

From the *Columbia Patriot*, March 20, 1841.

NOTICE

Several perfons having shewed to the Monks of La Trappe,² a defire to purchafe watches, if they would fell them for trade, the faid monks, in order to satisfiy everybody, give notice to the public, that until the end of the year 1811, they will fell *Watches, Clocks* and other *Silversmith's work*, and alfo *Horses* for the following articles in Trade vis: Wheet, Corn, Linen, Beef, Pork, Cattle, Leather, Tallow, Blankets &c.

Urbain Guillet,

Superior of the Monks.

Cantine Mounds, 9 miles above Cahokia.

N. B. The above mentioned articles will be fold at a lower price, to who-ever fhall pay cash.

From the *Missouri Gazette*, January 24, 1811.

¹Columbia College was chartered in 1833.

²This notice is one of the most interesting appearing in the pioneer press. The Monks of La Trappe were a reformed Cistercian order which had been driven out of France on the outbreak of the French Revolution. After various wanderings over Europe, a colony under Dom Urban Gullet emigrated to the United States in 1802. Various attempts to found permanent settlements in the east failed and the main body of the Trappists, upon the invitation of John Mullanphy of St. Louis, moved to Florissant. After a brief stay at Florissant, the Trappists departed in 1809 to accept an offer from M. Jarrot of property on the other side of the Mississippi River in the vicinity of Cahokia. Here Dom Urban bought the two highest of the famous Indian mounds and on the smaller of the two the Trappists constructed several cabins, reserving the higher mound, now variously known as Big, Cahokia, or Monks' Mound, for the abbey which they intended to build later.

Misfortune beset the Trappists from the start. In 1810, following the total failure of their crops, an epidemic of fever carried off a number of the members of the community. Yet the Trappists strove to carry on their work of education and to fight off starvation. Besides superintending the Trappist community, Dom Urban found time, at great cost to his own strength, to minister

Lots For Sale
In The Town Of
HANNIBAL

The undersigned have laid off a town (of which they call HANNIBAL) at the mouth of Bear Creek, on the West bank of the Mississippi river, about 25 miles above the mouth of Salt River, and 15 miles below the mouth of Two Rivers.

HANNIBAL

It is believed, occupies the best site for a town that there is on the Mississippi (anywhere above St. Louis) being elevated above the highest floods, and is secured by rocky shores, it is easy of access from every direction, commands an extensive view of the river and surrounding country; there are two springs of excellent water within the town, an excellent quarry of limestone, and is backed by one of the most extensive tracts of rich and productive lands that there is in the Missouri territory, which tract of country is abundantly supplied with excellent timber, and is well watered by springs, brooks and creeks (well adapted for mills) and will no doubt prove remarkably healthy from its elevated situation, &c. The navigation of the Mississippi above the mouth of the Missouri, is known to be remarkably good for boats of the largest description, the current being gentle and deep.

The town of HANNIBAL is laid off on a liberal plan, streets wide; there is a very large street fronting the river, and land given for wharfage; also the proprietors give plenty of land for public purposes.

The sale of the above lots will take place at St. Louis on the last day of April, at the auction room of Thomas F. Riddick.

TERMS OF SALE

One fourth in 90 days, one fourth in six months, one fourth in 9 months, and one fourth in twelve months, by giving notes with approved security.

Should any person wish immediately to settle in the above town, they can buy at private sale, by applying to either of the proprietors. Mechanics will meet with good bargains.

*Stephen Rector,
Thomas Baird,
Thomas Rector,
Wm. V. Rector,
Richard Gentry,
M. D. Bates.*

From the *Missouri Gazette*, March 17, 1819.

to the spiritual needs of Cahokia, St. Charles, St. Louis, Florissant and Portage des Sioux. Conditions, however, were too adverse; the advertisement of the watchmaking establishment covers with but a thin veneer the distressing state of the Trappists. In 1812 or 1813 dire poverty, verging almost on starvation, drove the Trappists to abandon the Mounds and to return to the east. For a most interesting account of the Trappists of Monks Mound see chapter six of Garraghan's *Chapters in Frontier History*.

GODEY'S MAGAZINE AND LADY'S BOOK.—We have been receiving this best of all periodicals for several months, (sent to the "Standard,")..... We now have before us the October number, which, like all its predecessors, is richly laden with the choicest productions of the best authors, both male and female, in this country, among whom may be found.... names.... embracing the *élite* of the popular writers of the day.—Such an array of talent is enough of itself to recommend the Godey's Magazine to the favor of every lover of literature; but it has other attractions, which, in our estimation, are equally deserving attention; each number is embellished with two or more fine STEEL or MEZOTINT engravings, FASHION PLATE[S] most exquisitely executed, MUSIC, &c.&c. These are alone worth more than the price of the work. The present number contains three engravings, "the Grave Diggers," a scene from Hamlet, a most admirable specimen of art; "the Surprise," a most agreeable and interesting picture; "Fort Duquesne," the first of a series of *battle ground views*....

We have not time or space to speak of this periodical as it deserves; suffice it to say, it is one of the most beautiful, interesting and desirable periodicals in the Union; such an one as every young lady should be in possession of.

Terms: \$3 per annum, two copies for \$5.

From the *Springfield Advertiser*, October 15, 1844.³

HEMPSEED⁴

100 Bushels received and warranted new, for sale for cash only.—Call soon or they will be gone.

T. J. SLAUGHTER.

From the Liberty (Clay county) *Weekly Tribune*, April 4, 1846.

³Godey's *Lady's Book*, first published in New York—two years prior to the appearance of the above "ad,"—was extremely popular in Missouri, as elsewhere in the United States, if one judges from the numerous eulogistic advertisements which appear in the pioneer press of the State.

⁴This advertisement recalls the days when the growth of hemp in Missouri was a basic agricultural industry and Missouri rivaled Kentucky as a source of hemp supply for the South. Its cultivation in the State was widely agitated through editorial comment, through messages of the governors, and through the publication of lengthy newspaper articles describing its culture. In 1837, the purchase of the Platte country opened a territory whose rich soil was particularly adapted to the growth of hemp; it is said that Platte county, several years prior to the Civil war, was the banner hemp-growing county of the world. According to the United States Census of 1850, Platte county raised 4,345 tons of dew-rotted hemp and ranked first among the counties of the State. Clay county, contiguous to Platte county, raised 1,274 tons and ranked fifth. The industry, which had its heyday prior to the Civil war, died out with the abolition of slavery, since its profitable culture depend upon slave labor. Strong slaves brought as high as \$1200 to \$1400. About the time of the appearance of this advertisement Benton was endeavoring to secure the establishment by Congress of a national hemp manufactory for the U. S. Navy in Missouri on the banks of the Mississippi.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Missouri was held in Columbia on May 9, 1935.

At the meeting of the executive committee, George A. Mahan of Hannibal was reelected president for a three-year term. The vice-presidents elected were: Edward J. White, St. Louis; Walter B. Stevens, St. Louis; C. H. McClure, Kirksville; Allen McReynolds, Carthage; B. M. Little, Lexington; and John T. Barker, Kansas City. R. B. Price of Columbia was reelected treasurer.

The trustees chosen for three-year terms include: Ben L. Emmons, St. Charles; Stephen B. Hunter, Cape Girardeau; Isidor Loeb, St. Louis; Charles H. Whitaker, Clinton; and Roy D. Williams, Boonville. New trustees are: Henry J. Haskell, Kansas City, succeeding George A. Mahan, resigned; T. H. B. Dunnegan, Jr., Bolivar, succeeding the late T. H. B. Dunnegan, Sr.; Wilson Bell, Potosi, succeeding the late W. E. Crowe, De Soto; and L. M. White, Mexico, succeeding the late R. M. White.

Following adjournment of the business session in Columbia, the Society held its annual dinner at Hannibal on the evening of May 9, in honor of the Mark Twain Centennial which is being observed there, and to show appreciation of the work done by George A. Mahan of that city as president of the Society. Mr. Mahan, who is now entering upon his fourth term, is the only one of the Society's seven presidents elected for more than three terms.

The speakers of the evening were introduced by Mr. Mahan, toastmaster, following the invocation by Rev. Dr. C. J. Armstrong.

The work and advancement of the State Historical Society were described by Dr. Isidor Loeb of St. Louis, who spoke on "Thirty-seven Years of the State Historical Society." Dr. Loeb was the first secretary of the Society and has served on its finance committee since 1901.

"Ste. Genevieve, Its Founding, Its Inhabitants, and Its Folklore" was the subject of an address by the Very Reverend Charles L. van Tourenhout of Ste. Genevieve. Many historical incidents and customs of Missouri's oldest permanent white settlement were related by the speaker.

"Seriously, Mark Twain," an address by Dr. Otto Heller of St. Louis, was an evaluation of the humorist's literary works and his cultural background.

Expressive of the hospitality of Hannibal is the following editorial from the *Courier-Post* of May 10, 1935:

"To the nearly two hundred Hannibalians who attended the annual banquet of the State Historical Society held here last night it was not difficult to vision the reasons why this organization has climbed in a decade and a half from the lowest bracket among such groups in the United States to first rank. The program to which they were treated was a demonstration of capable and thorough arrangement and preparation, for which the society is now well recognized all over the country.

"President George A. Mahan and Secretary Floyd C. Shoemaker presented a program of headliners. Dr. Isidor Loeb and Dr. Otto Heller, both outstanding members of the faculty of Washington University, St. Louis, and the Very Rev. Charles L. van Tourenhout, veteran Ste. Genevieve pastor, all are not only widely known but extraordinarily capable men in presenting the subjects assigned them in the after-dinner program.

"The visit of the historical society—the first time in its 37 years that the annual banquet has been held outside its headquarters, Columbia—was a compliment to Hannibal, and was such a treat that Hannibalians are unanimous in inviting the organization to make the change permanent."

222 NEW MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

DECEMBER, 1934—MAY, 1935

During the six months from December, 1934, to May, 1935, inclusive, 222 applications for membership were received by the Society. This is an average of thirty-seven

applications a month and compares with the previous high average of thirty-five applications a month for the six months of June to November, inclusive, of 1934.

The 222 new members are:

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| Abernathy, H. T., Kansas City | Coil, B. J., Perry |
| Achelpohl, Wm. F., St. Charles | Coles, Walter D., Jefferson City |
| Airy, Carolyn, Rock Port | Collier, Mrs. Estelle C., Columbia |
| Anderson, Leila, Iberia | Conley, W. T., Columbia |
| Apprill, Arthur, Hermann | Covert, C. E., Houston |
| Arnold, Charles, Pittsburgh, Pa. | Cowdry, Mrs. E. V., Clayton |
| Aydt, Oscar O., Florissant | Crabb, Louise, Rich Hill |
| Baker, Kenzie Kenneth, Sikeston | Cramer, E. E., Brookfield |
| Barker, Thos. J., Jr., Kansas City, Kan. | Culture Club, Rich Hill |
| Barrett, Mrs. J. M., Napton | Cummings, Marie, Hannibal |
| Bates, Lucia Lee, Ironton | Dakin, Edwin F., New York City |
| Bass, Geo. A., St. Louis | Dakin, H. E., Hannibal |
| Benton School Center, St. Louis | Davis, Sheldon E., Dillon, Mont. |
| Berry, Brewton, Columbia | Deichman, Carl F., Washington, D. C. |
| Blackwell, Dorothy, St. Louis | Dickey, Edmund DuVal, Hannibal |
| Blow School Center, St. Louis | Disney, Ellis H., Lowry City |
| Bodenhafer, Walter B., St. Louis | Durham, W. A., Neosho |
| Bohling, Walter H., Sedalia | Dyer, Clyde P., Webster Groves |
| Boone, Robert M., Jefferson City | Early, Judge M. C., St. Louis |
| Booth, James, Pacific | Easley, J. H., Lebanon |
| Bowen, L., Wyaconda | Eckel, George R., St. Joseph |
| Bragg, H. I., Columbia | Eichenberger, J. Allen, Hannibal |
| Breuer, Louis H., Rolla | Field School Center, St. Louis |
| Bristow, Oscar M., Carrollton | Franklin Club, Columbia |
| Britton, Mrs. G. C., Hannibal | Fuller, Elgin T., Hannibal |
| Britton, J. Boyd, St. Louis | Gardenville School Center, St. Louis |
| Brooks, Robert W., St. Louis | Garfield School Center, St. Louis |
| Brown, Baxter L., St. Louis | Goodwin, Ben. P., St. Louis |
| Browne, Mrs. Halstead, St. Louis | Graham, Evarts A., St. Louis |
| Bryan Hill Center, St. Louis | Graves, Wm. W., St. Louis |
| Bucklin High School, Bucklin | Graves, Walter W., Kansas City |
| Buder School Center, St. Louis | Greenwood School, Dawn |
| Buescher, H. C., Columbia | Gregory, W. L., St. Louis |
| Bunge, Wm., Bland | Grinter, John H., Independence |
| Burson, John O., Mt. Vernon | Gruen, William Henry, St. Louis |
| Butler, Joe B., Rolla | Hackmann, Phyllis, Rolla |
| Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, Pa. | Hafner, Daniel H., Jr., Hannibal |
| Carroll, James, Webster Groves | Hagedorn, George, St. Louis |
| Christie, J. H., Kirkwood | Hager, W. L., Jefferson City |
| Clay, Mrs. J. M., Lupus | Hall, Franklin W., Houlton, Maine |

- Halligan, J. H., St. Louis
 Harris, W. John, M. D., Valley Park
 Hamilton, Henry W., Marshall
 Hamilton, R. R., Amoret
 Hawes, R. S., St. Louis
 Hays, Edw. D., Washington, D. C.
 Hays, W. H., Hannibal
 Head, Walter W., St. Louis
 Held, Geo. A., St. Louis
 Heller, Otto, St. Louis
 Henderson, Paul C., Bridgeport, Neb.
 Hendon, W. A., Granby
 Henn, William C., Hannibal
 Henry School Center, St. Louis
 Henson, Mrs. Frances, Galena
 Hickman, Ben H., Hannibal
 Hodgen School Center, St. Louis
 Hoffmann, J. F. Henry, Hannibal
 Hopper, O. J., Springfield
 Hoskins, Arthur C., St. Louis
 Hough, G. E., Carthage
 Howard, Ernest E., Kansas City
 Huegel, L. J., Hannibal
 Hughes, J. A., Hannibal
 Irig, J. Arthur, Hannibal
 Johnson, Eva, Vienna
 Jones, Wilbur B., St. Louis
 Journey, W. R., Higginsville
 Keller, Charles W., Jr., Columbia
 Kiel, Henry W., St. Louis
 Kirk, Geo. W., Sikeston
 Kirkpatrick, R. D., Hannibal
 Knighton, M. P., Hannibal
 Kochtitzky, John S., Cape Girardeau
 Kupferer, Oscar L., St. Louis
 Kurn, James M., St. Louis
 Landon, Fred, Landon, Canada
 Layton, Sutton R., Kansas City
 Leffler, Otto F., St. Louis
 Lehmer, George, Oregon
 Lewis, Miss N. J., Blue Springs
 Long School Center, St. Louis
 Longfellow School Center, St. Louis
 McAdams, Clark, St. Louis
 McCollum, Claude, Pawnee, Okla.
 McCollum, J. A., Pawnee, Okla.
 McCollum, Mrs. M. A., Seligman
 McDondel, Leona C., Hale
 McDermott, John F., St. Louis
 McGregor, Robert A., Dixon
 McHenry, Foster B., Jefferson City
 Madison School Center, St. Louis
 Mark Twain School Center, St. Louis
 Marrs, R. E. L., Carthage
 Martin, O. H., Kansas City
 Medley, Lyman B., Piedmont
 Miller, Mrs. John G., Montgomery City
 Monroe School Center, St. Louis
 Moore, Ed. H., Hannibal
 Moore, Paul H., Charleston
 Moreell, Caroline, St. Louis
 Morrow, Mrs. Kate S., Jefferson City
 Morton, B. D., Hannibal
 Myers, William T., Hannibal
 Newell, James W., St. Louis
 Nims, E. D., St. Louis
 Northcutt, Charles E., Columbia
 Norton, Wm. T., Liberty
 Olson, Opal Lee, Monroe City
 Owensville High School, Owensville
 Pate, W. M., Hoberg
 Paxton, R. H., Mochicahui, Sinaloa, Mexico
 Peters, T. C., Tulsa, Oklahoma
 Philippi, Mrs. Mildred W., St. Louis
 Phillips, N. A., St. Louis
 Ponder, Paul, Iberia
 Porter, Chas., Festus
 Powell, Thos. Carr, Chicago, Ill.
 Prosser, Paul P., Denver, Colo.
 Pulitzer, Joseph, St. Louis
 Ray, John Arthur, St. Louis
 Redman, E. B., Bucklin
 Reller, A. H., St. Louis
 Rice, Glen H., Jefferson City
 Riddick School Center, St. Louis
 Roe School Center, St. Louis

- Roesler, W. C., Hannibal
 Rolling Green School, Norborne
 Romberg, Dorothy, Hannibal
 Roosevelt High School, St. Louis
 Rubey, Harry, Columbia
 Russell, F. T., Hannibal
 Ryan, Robert W., Marshfield
 St. Joseph Academy, Chillicothe
 Schaaf, Mrs. Ida, St. Marys
 Schmuddee, A. A., Chamois
 Schwan, G. E., Hannibal
 Schwendeman, N. B., O'Fallon
 Scott, Mrs. Arch, Carrollton
 Scruggs School Center, St. Louis
 Sender, H. M., Kansas City
 Seward, Mrs. Harry P., Hardin
 Shain, Thelma, Kirksville
 Shaner, Dolph, Joplin
 Shelton, Anna, Hannibal
 Shepard, Isabel V., Springfield
 Shepley, Arthur B., St. Louis
 Sigel School Center, St. Louis
 Smiley, Ralph J., Hannibal
 Snodgrass, C. D., Tuscumbia
 Sonnenberg, Carl, Hannibal
 Soper, Horace W., St. Louis
 Stava, William, San Francisco, Cal.
 Stillwell, Walter, Hannibal
 Study, Guy, St. Louis
- Sturtevant, Carleton W., Kansas City
 Tausig, J. E., St. Louis
 Thatcher, T. H., Ferguson
 Thee, J. W., Eureka
 Thompson, Anna M., Kansas City
 Thompson, Ruth, Carrollton
 Timmons, Mrs. Leona, Carrollton
 Trigg, L. O., Eldorado, Illinois
 Trout, Paul, Advance
 Tyrrell, Percy, Kansas City
 University of Pa., Philadelphia, Pa.
 Vernon, E. L., Lebanon
 Voelkerding, Walter J., Dutzow
 Wade School Center, St. Louis
 Walbridge School Center, St. Louis
 Weaver, W. L., Hannibal
 Wetherholt School, Norborne
 White, J. U., Lodi
 Williams, John F., Columbia
 Williams, Mrs. Paul, Cape Girardeau
 Wilson, A. J., Lupus
 Wilson, R. C., Belton
 Wohlschlaeger, T. J., Afton
 Wyman School Center, St. Louis
 Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn.
 Yates, I. C., Hannibal
 Youngs, M., Warrensburg

OUTSTANDING DONATIONS

The Public Library and Historical Association, Inc., of Lexington, of which Mr. Henry C. Chiles is president, has donated the following unbound Lexington newspapers to the State Historical Society:

Missouri Valley Register, January, 1866—March, 1868.

Lexington Register, January-September, 1875; January, 1877—November, 1878; January, 1888—April, 1890.

Lexington News, April, 1900—August, 1906.

Lafayette County Sentinel, August, 1876—August, 1879.

Weekly Caucasian, May-July, 1866; June-September 1867; January, 1870—December, 1871; 1874; January-August, 1875.

Weekly Express, October-December, 1865; June-September, 1866.

Weekly Union, September 5, 1863.

The Post, December 23, 1887.

This donation supplements that of November, 1934, reported in the *Missouri Historical Review* of January, 1935, p. 140.

Ten bound volumes of the *Richmond Conservator*, containing twenty volumes of the newspaper, for the years 1886-97, 1900-01, and 1904-09, were donated to the State Historical Society by Mr. George A. Trigg of Kansas City. These files are for the years during which he and his father, George W. Trigg, published the *Conservator*.

A portrait of Robert B. Todd, one of the two members of the first graduating class of the University of Missouri in 1843, has been presented to the State Historical Society of Missouri by his daughters, Miss Sallie Todd and Mrs. Lila Daniel, of Washington, D. C. The presentation was made by North Todd Gentry of Columbia, former attorney-general of Missouri.

Robert B. Todd was born in Franklin, Missouri, in January, 1826, and moved with his parents, Judge and Mrs. David Todd, to Columbia in 1830. Following his graduation in 1843 he participated in the Mexican war, serving as captain of a company. Later he moved to Louisiana where he became judge of the Supreme Court.

Copies of the *Bloomington Gazette* (Macon county), published on January 22 and February 5, 1851, by Messrs. Love and Gilstrap, and the *Kirksville Patriot* of December 15, 1864, edited by Keeling Bradley, have been presented to the State Historical Society in memory of the late Judge Nat M. Shelton, by his daughter, Miss Anna Shelton.

Secretary of State Dwight H. Brown has presented a carbon copy of a special report on "Corporations Chartered

or Organized by Act of the General Assembly, 1803-1865, Inclusive," to this Society for permanent preservation.

The Society recently received as a gift from Robert Wright of Columbia, a printed invitation to a reception at the Governor's residence held in 1838. It was addressed to "Judge Dunnica and Lady." It reads:

"Mr. and Mrs. Boggs, present their respects, and solicit the pleasure of your company on the evening of the 22d instant, at the residence of the Governor.

"City of Jefferson, Feb. 15, 1838."

CURRENT ITEMS

Franklin county has the distinction of having established in January, 1935, the first County Planning Board in Missouri. Shortly afterward, on January 23, 1935, a similar board was established in Texas county. The counties of Marion, Howell, Phelps, Ozark, Lincoln, Randolph, and Pulaski have also developed planning organizations.

Approximately \$55,000,000 worth of Missouri farm real estate—more than 18,000 farms and about 2,700,000 acres—was formally foreclosed and transferred to new ownership during 1930-1934. Seven per cent of the farms and about 8 per cent of the farm area of the State was transferred to the holders of farm mortgages during these four years. The estimates are based on a survey which included complete reports on 93 out of 114 counties in Missouri.

The preliminary returns of the bureau of the census for 1935 show an increase of 10 per cent in the number of Missouri farms since 1930.

There are more school board members than teachers in Missouri. In approximately 9,000 school districts the State has 29,310 school board members and 24,200 teachers. Only eleven other states are in the same situation. In most of the states there are two teachers to one school board

member. The average number of teachers per district in Missouri is three in comparison with an average of seven per district in the entire country.

This year marks the return of commercial navigation on the Missouri river. The steamer *Bixby* left Kansas City on March 24 with a cargo of four barges of fuel oil. On June 6, traffic was formally inaugurated at St. Louis by the departure of the *Franklin D. Roosevelt* with a three barge tow, bound for Kansas City. The cargo of 1,600 tons included newsprint from Canada, burlap from India, coffee from South America, chemicals, agricultural implements, sugar, pianos, beer, and liquors. Captain Thomas P. Craig of Boonville commanded the steamer. The trip to Kansas City was made in eight days in spite of flood conditions.

State roads in Missouri have been constructed so that 1,262 of the 1,645 communities having a population of fifty or more are on highways.

Following an example set by the City of St. Louis several years ago, St. Louis county had the services of a legislative agent at intervals during the session of the 58th General Assembly.

Returns in the biennial census of manufactures show a decrease of 53 per cent in value of manufactured products in Missouri from 1929 to 1933. The number of manufacturing establishments decreased from 5,620 in 1929 to 3,813 in 1933, and the average number of wage-earners (both full and part-time), from 200,411 in 1929 to 141,176 in 1933.

ANNIVERSARIES

A public ceremony on March 9, 1935, marked the 131st anniversary of the "Day of the Three Flags," commemorating the transfer at St. Louis of Upper Louisiana to the United States.—From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* and St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, March 10, 1935.

The formation of a national committee of eighty prominent Americans, under the honorary chairmanship of President Roosevelt, to honor the centennial anniversary of the birth of Samuel L. Clemens was announced March 29, 1935, by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, chairman of the committee. The committee will sponsor a nation-wide celebration in elementary and high schools, leading up to a "Mark Twain Day" on November 1, 1935. The year's ceremonies will reach their climax on November 30, Clemens' birthday, with dinners in the principal cities.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, March 30, 1935.

The centennial of the birth of Dr. William Torrey Harris, St. Louis educator, who has been described as the "one truly great philosophical mind which has yet appeared on the Western Continent," will be fittingly commemorated at the thirty-sixth annual meeting of the American Philosophical Association (Western division), which is to hold a three-day session at Washington University starting May 2, 1935. A sketch of Dr. Harris' career appears in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of April 28, 1935.

The 100th anniversary of Christ Episcopal Church at Boonville was observed by the annual convention of the West Missouri Diocese held in that city during May 14-15, 1935. The building now in use was consecrated on September 24, 1846. A historical sketch of the parish, written by Miss Jane Gregg, was printed in the Boonville *Daily News* of May 14, 1935, and was reprinted in pamphlet form.

The 100th anniversary of the First Christian Church at Independence is to be celebrated July 4, 1935. An illustrated historical sketch of the church appears in the *Independence Examiner* of May 31, 1935.

The 100th anniversary of the organization of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows in Missouri occurs on June 3, 1935, and will be celebrated with a pageant and women's

chorus in St. Louis on June 6, 1935.—From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, June 2, 1935.

Macon observed the 79th anniversary of the first platting of the town, March 12, 1856, by displaying flags throughout the town on March 12, 1935.—From the Clarence *Independent-Courier*, March 20, 1935.

The 75th anniversary of the inauguration of the Pony Express recalls the fact that the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company, the official name of the enterprise, was organized by William H. Russell, Alexander Majors, and William B. Waddell, of Lexington. An account of their accomplishments and a brief sketch of their lives, furnished by Henry C. Chiles of Lexington, appears in the Lexington *Advertiser-News* and the *Daily Intelligencer* of March 30, 1935.

The 75th anniversary of Zion Lutheran Church, Twenty-first and Benton streets, St. Louis, will be celebrated May 5, 1935.—From the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, May 4, 1935.

The 75th anniversary of St. Boniface Catholic Church, Michigan avenue, St. Louis, will be celebrated during the week of May 19-25, 1935.—From the St. Louis *Star-Times*, May 16, 1935.

Ceremonies in observance of the 65th anniversary of the founding of the Northeast Missouri State Teachers College, successor to Cumberland Academy (1867-1870), were held jointly by the Adair County Historical Society and by the faculty, students, and alumni of the College during May 22, 23, 24, 1935, at Kirksville. The tenth year of the administration of Dr. Eugene Fair, as president, was observed also. A tablet was unveiled on the site of the original building.

The 60th anniversary of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* occurs May 20, 1935. A brief historical sketch of the papers which merged to form the present publication is given in the issue of May 19, 1935.

The 50th anniversary of the first graduating class of California High School will be observed this year.—From the *California Democrat*, May 16, 1935.

The 25th anniversary of the A. P. Green Fire Brick Company at Mexico was observed by special editions of the *Mexico Evening Ledger* and the *Mexico Daily Intelligencer* of May 9, 1935.

MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS

A tablet in memory of Brigadier-General Benjamin Howard, first governor of the Territory of Missouri, was unveiled in Grace Episcopal Church in St. Louis, on April 7, 1935, by the Pioneer Chapter, National Society United States Daughters of 1812. A scholarly address on "The Early Career of General Benjamin Howard" was read by Mr. James M. Breckenridge of St. Louis.

A bronze tablet commemorating the founding of the American Legion at the old Shubert-Jefferson Theatre, St. Louis, on May 8, 9, and 10, 1919, will be unveiled on the Twelfth Boulevard side of the Union Electric Building on May 9, 1935.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 8, 1935.

The restoration of the Boone-Hays cemetery, the oldest cemetery in Kansas City, is nearing completion, and plans are being made to erect a limestone monument in memory of Daniel Morgan Boone. The U. S. Daughters of 1812 are planning to organize a Boone Association to undertake the permanent care of the cemetery.—From the *Kansas City Westport Crier*, April 24, 1935.

Elijah P. Lovejoy, who edited the *St. Louis Times*, the *St. Louis Observer*, and the *Alton (Ill.) Observer*, in the 1830's and who was killed in a raid on his Alton office in 1837, is to be honored by a memorial service at Colby College, Waterville, Maine, on May 18, 1935. Lovejoy was an abolitionist

and an advocate of freedom of the press.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, April 14, 1935, and the *St. Louis Star-Times*, May 15, 1935.

A memorial in honor of the pioneers of old Westport was erected October 10, 1920. A photograph of the memorial appears in the *Kansas City Star* of March 11, 1935.

Ceremonies honoring the memory of Alexander McNair, first governor of Missouri, will be held on Decoration Day by the St. Louis Chapter of Disabled American Veterans.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, May 22, 1935.

NOTES

Mrs. Elizabeth H. Vaughan of St. Louis has been awarded the Florence Nightingale medal for her important services for the Red Cross during and after the World War.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, May 31, 1935.

Dr. F. W. Hawley, president of Park College at Parkville, Missouri, was one of five outstanding educators in the United States to receive a distinguished service award in Christian education from the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 4, 1935.

Two Missourians won Pulitzer prizes in 1935, Miss Josephine Winslow Johnson of Kirkwood, for her novel *Now in November*, and Zoe Akins, native Missourian, for her play "The Old Maid."—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 7, 1935.

One of two 1935 Missouri Honor Awards for Distinguished Work in Journalism was made to William Southern, Jr., publisher of the *Independence Examiner*. The presentation of this award was made May 2, 1935, during the 26th annual Journalism Week at the University of Missouri.

A prize of \$100 is being offered by the National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of Missouri for the best three act play based on events or social conditions in Missouri from 1540 to 1860. Mrs. Lucian Guy Blackmer, 5642 Kingsbury Boulevard, St. Louis, will furnish details of the contest.

The title of probate judge-emeritus of Jackson county was conferred on Jules E. Guinotte by the Kansas City Bar Association on April 4, 1935.—From the *Kansas City Journal-Post*, April 5, 1935.

Ben Alzheimer, 85, now of New York, is widely known for his philanthropies in Missouri. He was a St. Louis banker from 1874 until 1916, and was a director of the St. Louis Public Library, Washington University, Provident Aid Association, Mount Rose Hospital, and United Jewish Charities. He was founder of "bundle day" a charitable relief custom, and in 1912 founded Flag Day.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, March 6, 1935.

George A. Smith, 84, believed to be the last survivor of the board that examined Gen. John J. Pershing for admission to West Point, died May 21, 1935, in an accident near Cameron.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, May 22, 1935.

A list of the soldier dead of Dade county, from the War of 1812 to the World war, is printed in the *Greenfield Vedette* of May 2, 1935.

A campaign to raise \$25,000 for a Mark Twain memorial in St. Louis is to begin March 25, 1935.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 24, 1935.

A first issue of the first edition of Mark Twain's *Adventures of Tom Sawyer* was sold at auction for \$510.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 15, 1935.

"The first locomotive ever built west of the Mississippi river was constructed in the Hannibal shops. It was named 'General Grant' and made its first run on March 1, 1865."—From an advertisement of the Burlington Railroad in the *Hannibal Courier-Post*, March 6, 1935.

The Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad's new Zephyr-type train has been named "The Mark Twain," and will soon be in service between St. Louis and Burlington, Iowa via Hannibal. It will have cars named "Tom Sawyer" and "Huckleberry Finn."—From the *Hannibal Courier-Post*, March 20, 1935.

Two autographed Eugene Field manuscripts, "Just for Christmas" and "To My Mother," recently sold for \$190.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, March 14, 1935.

Kirkville High School groups under the direction of Mrs. Pauline D. Knobbs have won three nation-wide contests in a Negro study project during the past four years, according to the *Kirkville Daily Express* of March 25, 1935.

Ten paintings by Henry Lewis, pioneer Missouri artist, showing points on the upper Mississippi, are in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.—From the *Minnesota Historical News*, July, 1934, and January, 1935.

An old diary and account book of the Rankin family, owners of Rankin's Mill south of Boonville, the first entry being dated March 30, 1856, is described in the *Boonville Advertiser* of May 10, 1935. The book is owned by Charles van Ravenswaay of Boonville.

The brick building on Morgan street, Boonville, which was once the office of Senator David Barton was razed several months ago.—From the *Boonville Advertiser*, May 10, 1935.

The old frame building which had been the office of Richard Parks Bland has been torn down.—From the *Lebanon Rustic-Republican*, May 3, 1935.

Dover Baptist Church, located six miles southwest of LaGrange, has held meetings regularly since its organization in 1834.—From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 20, 1935.

The corner stone of the old Carleton College at Farmington has been opened, and a list of its contents appears in the *Farmington News* of March 29, 1935.

"The Enchanted Years of the Stage," by Austin Latchaw was begun in serial form in the *Kansas City Star* of March 31, 1935. The series traces the history of the theatre in Kansas City.

A series of historical articles by Myrtle Kirkpatrick appears in the *Potosi Independent-Journal* of March 14 to April 18, 1935. The articles are on Washington County's First Grand Jury, Organization of Washington County, Supreme Court Held in Potosi, Potosi the Cradle of Lead Mining in Missouri, Moses Austin and the Mining Interests of Missouri, and Moses Austin. Similar articles appear in following issues.

A biographical sketch of the late William Henry Lynch, prominent Missouri educator, written by Joel D. Bounous appears in the May, 1935, issue of *School and Community*.

The Ozark Mardi Gras at Poplar Bluff, held during May 24, 25, and 26, 1935, was the occasion for a 118-page "Progress Edition," of the *Poplar Bluff Daily American Republic*, issued May 23, 1935. There is much descriptive material and considerable historical information in this edition.

In his article, "The River Comes to Life Again," A. B. Macdonald reviews Missouri river transportation from the earliest day to the present. This feature story is in the *Kansas City Star* of June 2, 1935.

The history of "Old Sacramento," famous cannon used in the Mexican and Civil wars, which is now in the museum at the University of Kansas, appears in the *Kansas City Times* of June 3, 1935.

When General Sherman moved his office to St. Louis in 1874, he made that city the official headquarters of the United States Army, according to an article by Homer Bassford in the *St. Louis Star-Times* of May 22, 1935.

The reminiscences of Alex Bristoe, 84, of his experiences in steamboating on the Osage river are printed in the *Warsaw Times* of May 16, 1935.

"Remember That Glorious Occasion, Commencement Day, 1885?" an article in the May, 1935, issue of *The Missouri Alumnus*, recounts the celebration at the University of Missouri attended by many persons of national prominence.

"Camp Jackson Anniversary Brings to Light More Interesting Data on Dispute Kept Alive Here Since 1861," an article by Homer Bassford, recalls the importance of an event which is said to have saved Missouri for the Union.—From the *St. Louis Star-Times*, May 10, 1935.

The story of "The Silver Fever," which resulted in the exploitation of Granite Mountain in the 80's and formed the basis of several St. Louis fortunes, is told by Homer Bassford in the *St. Louis Star-Times* of May 17, 1935.

A historical sketch of the newspapers of Marionville from 1872 to date, written by J. W. Faulkner, appears in the *Marionville Free Press* of May 2, 1935.

The disastrous tornado which struck Poplar Bluff on May 9, 1927, is recalled by J. L. Wilkinson, in the *Poplar Bluff American Republic* of May 9, 1935.

Reminiscences of pioneer life in Texas county are related by Mrs. Nan Sutton, 92, in articles in the *Houston Republican* of May 9, 1935, and the *Houston Herald* of May 9, 1935.

"A Remembrance of Memphis and Its Older Citizens," a series of reminiscences by G. A. Rigger, begins in the *Memphis Reville* of March 28, 1935.

A series of three articles tracing the development of the Jefferson City high school from 1870 to date, during which period there have been 2,146 graduates, appears in the *Jefferson City News-Tribune* of March 31, April 7, and April 14, 1935.

A biographical sketch of Ben Holladay, who lived in Weston, Missouri, for a time, noted as proprietor of the Overland Stage Lines and other pioneer transportation enterprises, appears in the *Kansas City Times* of May 8, 1935.

The home of Miss Cornelia F. Maury, in Carondelet, which was built in the early 1800's, is described by Melissa McKay in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of May 2, 1935.

A sketch of Lucien B. Maxwell, a Missourian who became known as the "Duke of Cimarron," because of his large land holdings in New Mexico, appears in the *Kansas City Times* of May 3, 1935.

An account of a Christmas ball at the old Edwin E. Harris home in Osceola, held by General Sterling Price for his soldiers who were camped nearby, was written by Augusta H. Graham for the *Jefferson City Missouri Magazine* of April, 1935.

Bartholomew Berthold, early St. Louis fur merchant, built the first brick house in St. Louis in 1811, on Main street between Chestnut and Walnut streets, according to a paper

read by Sister M. Marietta of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet.—From the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, April 29, 1935.

The twenty-five-year search for an official State Song of Missouri is described in the *Kirksville Daily Express* of March 26, 1935.

"A Bit of Historic St. Louis," by Homer Bassford, describes the photographic record of historical points in the city represented in the photograph collection of Dr. R. H. Fuhrmann. This article appears in the *St. Louis Star-Times* of April 17, 1935.

Some early history of Cottey College was recalled at the banquet given in honor of Mrs. V. A. C. Stockard, founder and president emeritus of the college, March 27, 1935.—From the *Nevada Southwest Mail*, March 29, 1935.

The *Missouri Bar Journal* of March, 1935, contains the following articles: "Mark Twain and the Lawyers," by Alvin Wagoner, and "Work of Supreme Court of Missouri from 1821 to 1825," by George Munger.

The diary of Marcus A. Gow (1831-1922), Clay county pioneer, veteran of the Mexican war and of the Confederate army, beginning August 1, 1882, is being reprinted in the *Liberty Tribune* beginning March 18, 1935.

"Books on Natural History in Early St. Louis," by John Francis McDermott, in the *Missouri Botanical Garden Bulletin* of March, 1935, describes several of the earliest libraries in St. Louis.

A sketch of Mother Duchesne, who came to St. Charles in 1818 and founded the Order of the Sacred Heart in America, written by Marguerite Martyn, appears in the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* of March 22, 1935.

"The History of the Development of Holloway School District," by Mary Barnhill, appears in the *East Prairie Eagle* of March 15, 1935.

A historical sketch of the Stanley home, built in 1842 at Buffalo, Missouri, was written by Mrs. J. H. Reser of Conway for the *Buffalo Reflex* of March 14, 1935.

Several feature articles concerning Mark Twain and the celebration of his centennial at Hannibal during 1935 appear in the Jefferson City *Missouri Magazine* of March, 1935.

"Early Ozarks Outlaws" is the title of an article by W. Scott Luce in the *Republic Monitor* of March 7, 1935.

The story of Robert Campbell, pioneer Missouri fur trader and founder of a St. Louis fortune, is told by Ellwood Douglass in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch Magazine* of March 3, 1935.

An article by Keith Kerman on early music published in St. Louis appears in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch Magazine* of March 3, 1935.

A historical sketch of the 7th Regiment, Missouri National Guard, of which there seems to be no official record preserved, was written by Thomas A. Till for the *Kansas City Star* of March 3, 1935.

"Dunklin County's First Settlers," an article by T. H. Masterson in the *Kennett Dunklin Democrat* of March 1, 1935, describes the archaeological remains in the county.

Old houses of Johnson county, the oldest of which was built in 1827 and is still used by descendants of its builder, are described by J. L. Ferguson in the *Warrensburg Star-Journal* of February 19, 1935.

"Reminiscences of the Day Mark Twain Crossed the Missouri River on the Ferry to Jefferson City," by Frederick R. Kay, is the title of a lengthy article in the *New Bloomfield News* of February 21, 1935.

An article on "Stone-Age Men of Crawford County," by Carl H. Chapman, appears in the February, 1935, issue of the *Jefferson City Missouri Magazine*. The same number has another article on "Ozark Bluff Dwellers."

A history of Memorial Methodist Church in Carrollton appears in the *Carrollton Republican-Record* of March 8, 1935.

Items concerning early history of Schuyler county are recalled by J. T. Jones in the *Lancaster Excelsior* of March 7, 1935.

A historical sketch of White Franklin School, compiled by Mrs. Oscar Olson and Miss Mabel Haydon, is printed in the *Monroe City News* of March 14, 1935, the *Palmyra Spectator* of March 13, 1935, and the *Palmyra Marion County Standard* of March 20, 1935. The school was organized in 1842.

A historical sketch of Ramsey Creek Baptist Church, organized in 1816, appears in the *Louisiana Press-Journal* of March 12, 1935.

An account of the first schools in Livingston county, by J. C. Cox, appears in the *Chillicothe News* of March 20, 1935.

A historical sketch of Pike county printed in the *Louisiana Journal* of 1876 was reprinted in the *Vandalia Leader* of January 4, 11, 18, 25, 1934.

In the "History of Knobview Fruit Growers' Association," by W. Judd Wyatt, in the *Rolla Herald* of March 7, 1935, the settlement by fifteen families from northern Italy in Phelps county, during March, 1898, is related.

HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

A Journal of a Soldier Under Kearny and Doniphan, 1846-1847, by George Rutledge Gibson. Edited by Ralph P. Bieber, Associate Professor of History, Washington University. (Southwest Historical Series, Vol. III. The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1935.) This hitherto unpublished journal of the famous Kearny-Doniphan expedition, by a thirty-six-year-old second lieutenant in Company B of the Missouri Volunteers, constitutes a valuable addition to the previously published diaries. It is the simple but carefully recorded narrative of a journalist soldier. Writing with an eye and mind open to the interesting aspects of new regions and new experiences rather than to military strategy and to contemporary politics and diplomacy, the narrator covers in vivid detail the epical one thousand mile march across the arid plains, the climatic and stirring occupation of Santa Fe, and the subsequent triumphant march of Doniphan and his "Missouri Boys" to Chihuahua. Colorful accounts of army experiences, of the country, the climate and the everyday life, habits and customs of the Mexican people add to the interest and historical value of the book.

The *Journal* is excellently edited by Professor Bieber. The Introduction, which deals with the events leading to and the circumstances of the New Mexico and Chihuahua conquests, is of particular interest for its authoritative treatment and emphasis upon the role of Missouri; while the copious footnotes supplement the text and add immeasurably to the historical value of the work.

The Travels of Jedediah Smith. A Documentary Outline Including the Journal of the Great American Pathfinder. Edited by Maurice S. Sullivan. (The Fine Arts Press, California, 1934.) Of unusual value and interest to students of the history of Western exploration is this documentary outline of the career and travels of Jedediah Smith. Based upon a hitherto unpublished verbatim record made by a friend of the Smith family from the original lost notes and journal of Jedediah Smith, and copiously supplemented by additional documentary

material, the book is a distinct contribution to the reconstruction of the life of this outstanding explorer.

In addition, the book includes the diary of Alexander McLeod, member of the expedition of the Hudson's Bay Company sent out to recover property and papers of Smith carried off by Indians in Oregon; also, a hitherto unpublished map of Smith's travels, drawn in 1839. The reference value of the book is enhanced by an excellent index. The illustrations, facsimile and photographic reproductions add much to the unusually attractive makeup of the book.

William Rufus Jackson, present postmaster of St. Louis, in his *Missouri Democracy: A History of the Party and its Representative Members—Past and Present* (3 vols., Chicago, 1935), attempts the first comprehensive history of the Democratic party in Missouri. The first 391 pages of Volume I are devoted to an historical sketch in ten "epochs" and a "conclusion" covering the years 1804-1934. From the third epoch (1845-1860), the account becomes less broadly historical with the emphasis placed upon state and congressional representation and upon state and national campaigns. The account of each epoch is supplemented with copious footnotes which are particularly valuable for the wealth of biographical information included. The remaining 435 pages are devoted to twelve signed articles on special subjects, of which "the Supreme Court of Missouri," "Woman Suffrage in Missouri," "the Negro in Missouri," "Old Newspapers of St. Louis," "the Country Press," and "Democratic County Histories, Alphabetically Arranged," are of particular value and interest. Volumes II and III are devoted to some 2,000 biographical articles on contemporary members of the Democratic party.

Mr. Jackson is to be congratulated upon a pioneering effort which is a real contribution. It is regrettable that the major value of the book—its wealth of biographical material—is impaired by an inadequate index.

The first compilation attempting a complete history of the Missouri National Guard has recently been published by authority of the military council of that organization. Com-

piled by Brigadier General Stayton, the *History of the Missouri National Guard* is a distinct contribution to the preservation of the history and records of this hitherto neglected but important unit of Missouri's military organization.

The work will no doubt stimulate an interest in bringing to light further material on early units of the National Guard of which no records exist in the Adjutant General's office. Brigadier General Stayton himself disavows any claim for the completeness of his history. Already, the issue of the *Kansas City Star* for March 3 has published a lengthy article on the "7th Regiment of the Missouri National Guard" which contends the existence of a regiment omitted in the official compilation.

Brigadier General Stayton is to be congratulated upon his pioneering work.

A State Plan For Missouri, the recently published preliminary report of the Missouri State Planning Board, is, in the words of the board's chairman, an attempt to "make a careful study of all available data before proposing a definite program." It is not, as its title would indicate, a proposed State plan for Missouri. Facts relative to historical background, physical characteristics, land use, population, conservation of natural resources, industry, transportation, conservation of human resources, parks and recreation, preservation of the landscape, planning methods, and CWA and PWA projects are the data studied and summarized in the board's 85-page typewritten report. Four of these topics, with six others—namely, state forestry, water-power development, improvement of social conditions, public education, more efficient government organization, and a more equitable system of taxation—are suggested as "some of the more pressing problems which demand further study and recommendation." The report would therefore indicate that much remains to be done in procuring necessary additional data before any specific planning program can be formulated.

The numerous maps with their varied and interesting legends constitute an excellent economic and social chart of Missouri. These, with the authoritative treatment of a

variety of interesting facts and subjects relating to Missouri, make the report of value as a work of general reference. The price of the report is one dollar.

Folk Tales of Missouri, by E. A. Collins (Boston, Christopher Publishing House, 1935), is a group of folk tales collected by the author in various sections of Missouri. The stories are grouped into five classes: tall tales or "whoppers;" stories of heroes and heroines; stories which have given rise to current expressions, such as the familiar phrase, "I'm from Missouri"; those explanatory of the names of places; and stories of the supernatural. The author has set down the stories simply and briefly, as they were told by the pioneers. Although the book is in no sense a critical study of Missouri folklore, either from the standpoint of origin or of regional peculiarities, it will no doubt prove a useful compilation for students of the folklore of the State.

Commissioned by the Upper Mississippi Waterway Association to write the first complete history of the Upper Mississippi river, Mildred Hartsough, research and editorial assistant in the United States Department of Commerce, has commendably fulfilled the task in *From Canoe to Steel Barge on the Upper Mississippi*, published in 1934 by the University of Minnesota Press. In twelve chapters, which combine exacting research with a lively narrative style, Miss Hartsough tells the colorful story of the Upper Mississippi—and, to a limited extent that of the lower river—from the days of the early explorers to the most recent developments of the present nine-foot channel project.

The story reveals the economic development of the Northwest as told in the rise, fall and revival of commerce on the Mississippi. With broad, swift strokes the movement is traced: from canoe to steel barge, the struggle for power between the north-south commercial route of the Mississippi and the east-west route of the Great Lakes, the height of the pride and power of the river's "golden days," the relentless triumph of the east-west route with the coming of the railroads—a victory that is climaxed only in the Civil war with

its rupture of the alliance of Northwest and South—then the gradual decline of the river trade, and, finally, the hope of a revitalized Northwest through the revival of river commerce and a deepened channel from the Lakes to the Gulf.

Excellent illustrations, a select bibliography, and numerous supplementary notes add to the value of a timely and interesting study.

The Public Utility Franchise in Missouri, by Jay Rhoads Foster, Ph. D., was printed as one number of the *University of Missouri Studies*, October 1, 1934.

The Survival of French in the Old District of Sainte Genevieve, a doctoral dissertation by Ward Allison Dorrance, was issued as the April, 1935, number of the *University of Missouri Studies*.

The Contributions of Eugene Fair to Education, by Lucy Simmons, is a recent biographical pamphlet issued during the observance of the sixty-fifth anniversary of the Northeast Missouri State Teachers College at Kirksville, and the tenth anniversary of Dr. Fair's presidency of the College.

Missouri Farm Prices for 25 Years, by D. R. Cowan and F. L. Thomsen, issued as *Research Bulletin 221* by the University of Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station in March, 1935, presents in tabular form the monthly prices of thirteen agricultural products in Missouri from 1910 to 1934, inclusive.

A souvenir booklet entitled *Mark Twain Centennial, 1835-1935, Hannibal, Missouri*, contains many interesting pictures relating to the author's life in Missouri, and describes the scenes of his boyhood. The booklet was designed and edited by Braxton Pollard.

A pamphlet entitled *Lewis Fields Linn (1795-1843), Physician and Statesman*, by Dr. Robert E. Schlueter, has been reprinted from the *Weekly Bulletin of the St. Louis Medi-*

cal Society, January 25, 1935. The work is an interesting biographical study of the Missouri doctor and senator.

A pamphlet, *Historical Sketch of Erwin Lodge No. 121, Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, 1850-1935*, has been compiled for this St. Louis lodge by A. S. Werremeyer, on the occasion of the celebration of the eighty-fifth anniversary.

A mimeographed booklet, *The History of Deering, Missouri*, compiled and illustrated by the sixth grade history class of 1934-35 of the Deering schools, of which R. R. Eddleman is instructor, has been received by the State Historical Society.

"Historic Places in and About Kansas City" is the title of an entire number of the *Teachers College Scout Magazine Edition*, published by the Teachers College of Kansas City, April, 1935.

A two-page description of "Hannibal, Missouri, Boyhood Home of Mark Twain" appears in the *Geographic News Bulletin*, published by the National Geographic Society, Washington, D. C., on March 18, 1935.

"The Marmaduke and Some Allied Families," by Grace Marmaduke Sharp, in the April, 1935, issue of the *William and Mary College Quarterly*, contains much genealogical and biographical data on the prominent Missouri family of this name.

"Forts Robidoux and Kit Carson in Northeastern Utah," by Albert B. Reagan, appears in the *New Mexico Historical Review* of April, 1935.

"The Governors of New Mexico," by Lansing B. Bloom, in the *New Mexico Historical Review* of April, 1935, is a list of executives from 1598 to 1935. The names of several Missourians appear on the list.

"Dedication of the Kearny Monument, Las Vegas, New Mexico, August 15, 1934," an address by Dr. H. C. Gossard, appears in the *New Mexico Historical Review* of January, 1935.

"Fur Trade Strategy and the American Left Flank in the War of 1812," by Julius W. Pratt, in the January, 1935, issue of *The American Historical Review*, contains an account of activities on the frontier in Missouri.

"John Augustus Sutter's European Background," by James Peter Zollinger, appears in the *California Historical Quarterly* of March, 1935.

"Governor Hunt—A Personal Appreciation," by Samuel L. Pattee, appears in the *Arizona Historical Review* of April, 1935.

"Some Reflections on the Career of General James Wilkinson," by Thomas Robson Hay in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* of March, 1935, presents interesting sidelights on Missouri territorial days.

PERSONALS

WILLIAM S. ANTHONY: Born in Potosi, Mo., March 10, 1865; died in San Antonio, Tex., April 6, 1935. He was graduated in law from Washington University and began practice in Potosi. He moved to St. Louis and was assistant United States district attorney for the eastern district of Missouri. Later he lived in Farmington and then moved to Texas, where he held several official positions.

EUGENE W. BRITT: Born near Harrisonville, Mo., Dec. 25, 1855; died in Los Angeles, Cal., Feb. 15, 1935. He was educated in the Normal School at Kirksville and at the University of Missouri. He was admitted to the bar in 1878 and in that year moved to California. In 1885-86 he was a member of the California legislature, and from 1895 to 1900 he was a member of the California Supreme Court Commission.

THOMAS J. BUCHANAN: Born in California, Mo., July 21, 1862; died in California, Mo., Dec. 13, 1933. He was educated in St. Mary's College and St. Louis University, then engaged in the practice of pharmacy. He was the founder of the first telephone system in California, Mo. He was a senator in the 42nd and 43rd General Assemblies.

CHARLES H. BURGESS: Born in Ray county, Mo., Feb. 11, 1870; died in Windsor, Mo., Dec. 3, 1934. At the age of fifteen he worked on the *Richmond Democrat*, and later bought an interest in the *Richmond Conservator*. In 1905 he bought an interest in the *Windsor Review*. For six years he published the *Butler Democrat*, then bought an interest in the *Marshall Daily News*. In 1916 he returned to Windsor, where he edited the *Review* until his death.

JAMES P. CHINN: Born in Lafayette county, Mo., June 21, 1863; died in Higginsville, Mo., Jan. 18, 1935. He was graduated from the University of Missouri in 1889 and was admitted to the bar in 1890. He was elected probate judge of Lafayette county in 1899, State senator in 1908, and was city attorney of Higginsville for ten years.

GEORGE R. CURRY: Born in Hancock county, Tenn., Oct. 31, 1860; died in Lebanon, Mo., March 5, 1935. He moved to Ozark county, Mo., in March, 1892. He held many Baptist pastorates in southwest Missouri, served as representative of Ozark county in the 39th and 40th General Assemblies, and was State senator in the 43rd and 44th General Assemblies. He resided in Nebraska from 1919 until shortly before his death.

LOUIS WAYLAND DANIELS: Born at Piedmont, Mo., Aug. 25, 1893; died in Ironton, Mo., April 17, 1935. He had served as auditor in the United States Veterans Bureau in St. Louis, and since 1928 had engaged in the printing business at Center-ville. During the past three years he was editor of the *Reynolds County Courier*.

JAMES M. ELLISON: Died near Richmond, Va., about May 28, 1935; at the age of 57. He had been instructor in the Northeast Missouri State Teachers College at Kirksville,

editor of the Kirksville *Daily Democrat*, and manager of a farm in Adair county. About fifteen years before his death he moved to Virginia, where he managed the Brandon-on-the-James estate of Robert W. Daniel.

MRS. ADA GREENWOOD MACLAUGHLIN: Born in Kirksville, Mo., Aug. 1, 1860; died in Kansas City, Mo., May 31, 1935. She was the daughter of James M. Greenwood. In 1881 she married William H. MacLaughlin, who died in 1904. She then returned to Kansas City, began teaching in Manual Training High School, and was connected with the city's schools for thirty-one years. She was also active in historical and patriotic work.

ROBERT EARLE HODGES: Born near Cedar City, Mo., March 8, 1879; died in Jefferson City, Mo., May 8, 1935. He began work on the Cedar City *Chronicle*, then became editor of the Portland *Times*. In 1900 he purchased the Mokane *Herald-Post*, and later changed the name to Mokane *Missourian*, a paper which he edited until his death. In 1930 and 1932 he was elected representative from Callaway county, serving in the latter session as Speaker *pro tem*.

JABEZ N. JACKSON: Born at Labadie, Mo., Oct. 6, 1868; died in Kansas City, Mo., March 18, 1935. He was educated in Central College, Fayette, and University Medical College, Kansas City. He became the first chief of staff of the Kansas City General Hospital, and was the first superintendent of the Missouri Pacific Hospital at Washington, Mo., said to have been the first railroad hospital in the United States. In the Spanish-American war he was in command of the Second Division Hospital at Harrisburg, Pa. In 1927 he received the degree of LL. D. from the University of Missouri. He had been City Health Director of Kansas City since 1932.

JAMES MARCUS JOHNSON: Born in St. Joseph, Mo., July 5, 1862; died in Kansas City, Mo., March 22, 1935. He taught school in St. Joseph and in 1884 was admitted to the bar. In 1904 he was elected to the Kansas City Court of Appeals and moved to Kansas City, holding this position until 1917. He lectured in the Kansas City School of Law several years and in 1926 served as president of the Kansas City Bar Association.

MARK A. MAGRUDER: Born near Hughesville, Mo., Sept. 16, 1879; died at Sedalia, Mo., Nov. 8, 1934. He was educated at Westminster College and the University of Missouri, being graduated in law in 1901. He was city attorney of Sedalia during 1906 and 1907, and was elected to the State senate in 1916. He was a member of the board of managers of State eleemosynary institutions from 1925 to 1930.

WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH: Born in Stanford, Ky., Oct. 26, 1850; died in Columbia, Mo., Aug. 6, 1934. He was educated in Kentucky University and in Gottingen, Germany. He taught mathematics in Central College, Fayette, and then became head of the physics department, and later of the mathematics department, in the University of Missouri. From 1893 until 1915 he was professor of mathematics and philosophy at Tulane University. He was the United States delegate to the first Pan-American Scientific Congress in 1908. He was a member of American and foreign learned societies and was internationally known for his attainments in science, philosophy, religion, and languages.

ELISHA M. STREETER: Born in Butler county, Neb., April 2, 1872; died near Pollock, Mo., April 19, 1935. He was educated in the public schools and Omaha Business College, and for a time was telegraph operator for the Burlington railway. He served in the 54th General Assembly as representative from Sullivan county.

ARTHUR LEE WILLARD: Born in Kirksville, Mo., Feb. 21, 1870; died in Washington, D. C., April 7, 1935. He was graduated from the U. S. Naval Academy in 1891, and served in the Spanish-American war. During the World war he was superintendent of the naval gun factory in Washington. Later he was commander of the battleship New Mexico, commander of light cruiser division No. 3 of the scouting fleet, commander of the navy yard at Washington, and commander of the scouting force. In 1922 he was aid to the secretary of the navy, and in 1924 became a rear admiral. At the time of his retirement, in 1934, he was commandant of the fifth naval district.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

RIVER VOYAGE TO THE YELLOWSTONE IN 1832

Reprinted from the St. Louis *Missouri Republican* by the St. Louis *Beacon*, July 12, 1832.

The steamboat Yellow Stone, A. G. Bennett, master, arrived here on Saturday last, after a voyage of three months, to the mouth of the river Yellow Stone, distant 2000 miles up the Missouri, carrying the goods to the traders employed by the American Fur Company, and bringing back a rich and full cargo of furs, peltries, and buffalo robes.

In this voyage the Yellow Stone ascended the Missouri 700 miles farther than in her voyage of last year; thus proving to the satisfaction of the Company the entire practicability of steam navigation in that upper region. We are informed by Captain Bennett, that he found as much water in the Missouri at the mouth of the Yellow Stone, as was at the mouth of the Missouri when he passed up—and to all appearances he could have gone much higher if necessary. Indeed the navigation above the mouth of the Yellow Stone appeared to be less difficult, there being no snags. Sandbars were plenty but these abound from the mouth to the source of the Missouri.

This enterprise will no doubt greatly add to our trade and intercourse with the Indians, and subtract from that of the British trader. There is nothing, we are sure, that could have excited a greater degree of surprise among the wild inhabitants of the upper Missouri than the appearance among them of a high pressure steamboat, moving majestically against the current, as if (so it would seem to them) impelled by some supernatural agency. Many of the Indians who had been in the habit of trading with the Hudson's Bay Company, declared that that company could no more compete with the Americans and concluded hereafter to bring all their skins to the latter, and said that the British might turn out their dogs and burn their sledges, as they would be no longer useful while the Fire Boat walked on the waters. We are informed by Capt. B. that thousands of the natives visited the boat, were very friendly, and invited him to several feasts prepared in honor of the occasion.

Pierre Chouteau, jr., esq., agent of the company, attended the expedition, and returns, we are told, in high spirits.

SALINE COUNTY BULLOCKS EXPORTED IN 1825

Reprinted from the Edwardsville (Ill.) *Spectator*, by the Franklin *Missouri Intelligencer*, June 4, 1825.

A drove of 184 large heavy bullocks passed through this place on the 15th May, for the state of Ohio. They were collected in Saline county, Missouri.

MISSOURI EXPORTED CATTLE IN 1834

From the Columbia *Missouri Intelligencer*, June 14, 1834; reprinted from the Bowling Green *Salt River Journal*.

It was stated by a witness under oath, upon a trial in the Circuit Court of this county (Pike), last week, that it had been ascertained by an account kept, that three thousand head of cattle had crossed the Mississippi river at the ferry at Clarksville, in this county, on their way to the States of Ohio and Pennsylvania, in one year. This was also exclusive of many smaller droves going to other parts, and of the droves of mules and horses which had crossed during the same time. Clarksville is situated 12 miles below the town of Louisiana, and 80 miles above Fountain Ferry, at Alton, where, it is probable, an equal number may have been crossed. From this, some idea may be had of the business which Missouri does in the stock line. As yet she is but in her infancy in this business. But the attention of our farmers abroad is awakened to this subject, and many more are engaging largely in the stock raising business. The great difficulty which has heretofore been met with, and which is not yet fully overcome is the acquiring *breeders*. Cows particularly are scarce and the breed generally of the common stock kind. In a few years more, if attended with the same persevering industry and enterprise that has characterized the past, we may expect to see this obstacle entirely removed.

RIVER TRAFFIC AT ST. LOUIS IN 1830

From the St. Louis *Beacon*, January 6, 1831.

During the year ending 31st December 1830, 278 steam and 91 keel boats entered the port of St. Louis—upon which \$1,764.30 were collected, as wharfage. In the same time 2,782,000 feet of boards, planks, joists, and scantling; 1,490,000 shingles; 13,260 rails; 6,200 cedar logs (16's); and 5,780 cords of wood were brought to market. Since Oct. 13th 21,148 bushels of stone coal have been received. These facts appear from the books of the Harbor and Lumber master.

EXPORTS FROM GLASGOW IN 1848

Reprinted from the Glasgow *Howard County Banner* by the Columbia *Missouri Statesman*, December 8, 1848.

The following quantites of produce have been shipped from this port during the past year:

Tobacco.....	hhds.....	3194
do	manufactured boxes....	4531
Hemp.....	bales.....	2628
Wheat.....	bushels.....	36,312
Bacon.....	casks.....	548
Lard.....	barrels.....	500
Pork.....	barrels.....	105
Green Apples.....	barrels.....	2918

Dried Apples.....bushels.....	2250
Bale Rope.....coils.....	744
Dry Hides.....	915

We have taken much pains to obtain exact estimates, and the above table may be relied upon as correct.

In addition to the above, there have been shipped considerable quantities of the following articles: Beeswax, Tallow, Feathers, Peltries, Wool, Beans, Flaxseed, Hempseed, Castor Beans, Butter and Beef.

The number of tons of freight, according to the estimate of one of our enterprising commission merchants, is about 5000, which has been shipped at an average of about 20 cents per hundred.

We find, by reference to our files of last year, that there has been a falling off in the amounts shipped, of Strips, Leaf Tobacco, and Hemp; while there has been an increased exportation of those articles in a manufactured state. There has also been an increase in the exportation of the articles of Wheat, Bacon, Lard and Apples.

The number of steamboat arrivals during the usual season of navigation has been 282.

STEAMBOAT TRAFFIC ON THE MISSOURI IN 1848

From the Columbia *Missouri Statesman*, December 8, 1848.

A friend at Providence in this county has kindly furnished us his register of the steamers which have been engaged in the Missouri river trade during the present year, the names of the masters, and the number of trips made by each boat. It is useful for reference and is as follows:

<i>Boats</i>	<i>Masters</i>	<i>Trips</i>
Haydee.....	Thomas & Tompkins.....	13
Tamerlane.....	William B. Miller.....	13
St. Joseph.....	Baker.....	14
Lightfoot (burnt).....	Henry.....	3
John J. Hardin (burnt).....	Douglass.....	1
Bertrand.....	Keiser & Morrison.....	12
Martha.....	LaBarge.....	10
Lake of the Woods.....	Dozier.....	14
St. Louis Oak.....	Skinkle.....	4
Amelia.....	Thomas Miller.....	22
Little Mo. (sunk).....	Martin.....	1
Cora (sunk; raised).....	Throckmorton & Gorman.....	13
Whirlwind.....	Dodge & Duke.....	11
Rowena.....	Jewett.....	20
Kit Carson.....	Eaton.....	19
Julia.....	Adams & Keiser.....	19
Kansas.....	Cunningham & Kennett.....	9
Mandan.....	Beers.....	13
Algoma (sunk; raised).....	A. Miller, Jr.....	2

<i>Boats</i>	<i>Masters</i>	<i>Trips</i>
Wyandotte.....	Yore.....	9
Boreas No. 3.....	Fithian.....	3
St. Croix.....	Atchison.....	12
War Eagle.....	Wall.....	2
Alton.....	Dales.....	2
Mustang.....	Patterson.....	8
Mary (burnt).....	Fulkerson.....	1
Eliza Stewart.....	Eads & McKee.....	7
Sacramento.....	Atkinson.....	11
Amaranth.....	Atchison.....	1
Duroc.....	Gray.....	1
Mary Blane.....	Brockman.....	8
Highland Mary.....	Atchison.....	6
Plough Boy (sunk).....	McKee.....	2
Fayaway [<i>sic</i>].....	Scott.....	1
Alexander Hamilton.....	Hooper.....	3
Dolphin (Diving Bell).....	Dodge.....	1
Total No. of boats.....	36	Total No. of trips..... 291

MISSOURI'S CIVIL WAR CLAIMS

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, May 19, 1935.

A claim for an amount of money approximating \$700,000 due the State of Missouri for interest paid on funds borrowed by the state at the beginning of the Civil war to aid the United States in that conflict will be prosecuted in Congress by C. C. Calhoun and Hicklin Yates, lawyers of Washington.

They have been authorized by Gov. Park to handle the matter. It first will be necessary to introduce and pass a bill in Congress instructing the Comptroller General to reopen the Missouri claim and proceed to settle with the state on the same basis that other states with similar claims were settled with.

At the breaking out of the Civil war, Missouri, in response to a call by President Lincoln, borrowed \$6,000,000 and expended it in equipping, transporting and paying soldiers for service in the Union Army.

It has been held by the higher tribunals of the United States that such expenditures for these purposes were proper. The State of Missouri has been reimbursed therefor only in part.

April 17, 1866, under act of Congress, a partial reimbursement was made. This amounted to \$6,715,089, but on that date, in accordance with decisions of the Court of Claims and the Supreme Court of the United States, and the settlements since made with other states of claims of like character, there was due Missouri \$7,190,278, leaving a balance due on the principal of \$475,190.

By act of April 28, 1904, the accounting officers of the Treasury Department were authorized to reopen and adjust the claim of the State of Missouri on the basis of like claims of Indiana, Michigan, New York, Maine, Pennsylvania and other states.

Under this act a further partial allowance of the Missouri claim was made, but it was only a partial settlement and not on the same basis as other states.

All claims filed by the state, like that of Missouri, were for interest paid on funds borrowed to raise and equip soldiers for the United States Army. At first they were all disallowed by the Treasury Department, but after the Supreme Court decided in favor of the State of New York on the interest claim, the claims of Indiana, Michigan, Maine, Pennsylvania, Kentucky and New Jersey were settled.

All that Missouri now asks is that her claim be adjusted on the same basis as those of the states named.

Calhoun, in his statement to Gov. Park outlining what steps must be taken by Missouri to secure payment, said that he had some years ago recovered a similar claim for Kentucky sufficient to build a new capitol for that state. He regards the claim of Missouri as presenting a stronger case than the one presented by Kentucky.

MRS. LAWRENCE ADMITTED TO MISSOURI BAR IN 1895

From the *Kansas City Star*, May 23, 1935.

There was an unusual stir in Judge Scarritt's courtroom in the old courthouse that spring day forty years ago.

The first woman ever to apply for a lawyer's license in Jackson county was about to take her bar examination. Missouri's first woman lawyer candidate stood ready to parry the oral legal thrusts of an examining board of five lawyers of this city.

A Kansas City publication, now long extinct, expressed this sentiment:

"Mrs. Mary D. Lawrence is an intelligent woman; but this fact to the contrary notwithstanding, a woman's place is in the home."

The examiners. . . . Frank P. Dexter, Grant I. Rosenweig, John Snyder, W. S. Cowherd, and H. D. Ashley, smiled paternally upon the little woman and the nine youthful candidates beside her.

The examination began. It was 2 o'clock. The examiners took turns quizzing the aspirants. Mrs. Lawrence answered her first question correctly. So did J. C. Rosenberger, a reporter for the *Star* at the time, now dead, and Elmer N. Powell, now secretary-treasurer of the Kansas City School of Law; George Horn, a practicing lawyer here, and so the remainder of the class, A. W. Burnett, L. G. Silbaugh, A. R. Diamond, W. B. Davidson, T. J. Johnson and J. H. McCrally.

Mrs. Lawrence had not missed a single question. Her examination was described as brilliant. Congratulations by all present were in order and generously tendered.

But the fight was not yet over. After the board retired to determine who had passed, one of the members objected to Mrs. Lawrence on the ground she was a woman. It was only after a long argument that he was won over by the other members. The board announced the next day, Sunday, May 18, 1895, that all the candidates had passed. Mrs. Lawrence was ranked second. There was special praise for Rosenberger, who rated first, and for Judge Powell. The ten candidates were sworn in and licenses were issued May 20, 1895, by Judge Scarritt.

The *fin desiecle* Portia joined with her husband-lawyer and thus began the firm of Lawrence & Lawrence, husband and wife.... Today this woman, still comparatively young, still alert, is a teacher at Paseo High School.... Mr. Lawrence died in 1916 and at his death Mrs. Lawrence gave up law practice.....

Mrs. Lawrence compiled a volume of laws concerning women and children in Missouri.... She was supreme Missouri grand chapter president of the P. E. O. sisterhood from 1905 to 1907.....

ILLINOIS' FIRST CAPITAL NOW IN MISSOURI

From the St. Louis *Streckfus Line Magazine*, 1934-35 season.

Kaskaskia, the first capital of Illinois, was located on bottom lands some miles north of the ancient mouth of the Kaskaskia river. The Mississippi converged toward this point on the west, but veered away to form a wide bend. In April, 1881, when the strip of land between the two rivers measured barely 400 feet, and the spring flood had reached its crest, high winds drove the water across into the Kaskaskia, whose level was eight feet lower. The ground rapidly crumbled, and the Mississippi soon turned its powerful current into the new and shorter channel, appropriating the old Kaskaskia bed for its own use. In time the former Kaskaskia triangle became joined to the Missouri shore, and a part of Illinois, including the site of its first capital, is now west of the Mississippi.

MARK TWAIN'S PART IN INDIAN FIGHT

From an undated supplement to the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, probably issued in 1878 or 1879. Reprinted from the Sonora (Cal.) *Democrat*.

Of the many stories now floating about in regard to the past experiences of Sam. Clemens, none are droller than the following one, which passes current in Tuolumne County for frozen truth. We would remark, however, that the story need not be taken as an evidence of faint-heartedness or lack of "sand" on the part of Clemens, but his action attributed simply to his inordinate love of humor, and an overweening desire to shoot his little joke while on the wing. The incident we refer to occurred during the Innocent's sojourn at Jackson Hill, near Tuttletown, where he was prospecting with Jim Gillis. For some time there had been rumors of discontent among the Indians, a fierce band of Wallas having gathered near Pendola Ferry, on the Stanislaus River, and, after announcing their in-

tention of annihilating the miners in the shortest order possible, decamped for the higher Sierras to obtain, it was generally supposed, a sufficient force to carry out their bloodthirsty threats. One bright afternoon late in the autumn, Sam and Jim were sitting in front of their cabin on Jackass Hill, the former engaged in rubbing mustang liniment on a slight bruise that discolored his left leg, sustained by a fall which he had received that day during one of his prospecting expeditions, the latter watching the operation while he lazily smoked a corncob full of killiknick. Suddenly a man rushed in breathless haste up the Hill and stammered, as he wildly gesticulated: "They're comin'." "Let 'em come; we're ready for most anything from fortune to famine," answered the imperturbable Mark, as he continued to plaster the liniment on his injured limb. "But they're Injuns," was the excited remark of the messenger, "an' everybody's turnin out. Tuttle town's in arms, an' they want Sam. to take command." "What's my rank," asked Sam., looking quizzically at the man, "quarter-master or sutler, which?" The aid-de-camp waited to hear no more, but rushed away to alarm others, and Mark and Jim made their way to Tuttle town, where they found a great crowd of miners assembled and ready to march on the foe. Mark was appointed to the command of a company, and in due course of time the little army was on the march. The Stanislaus River having been reached just at dusk, it was thought advisable to proceed with more caution, as the enemy was supposed to be encamped in that vicinity. The different companies separated, and spreading out in a semi-circle, marched up the river. Mark's company, consisting of ten men, were plodding along in the gathering gloom, when shots were heard at no great distance on the hillside.

"Halt!" commanded Mark. The company halted.

"Gentlemen, this is no time for fooling. Tuttle town expects every man to do his duty. The enemy is before us. You will form into a hollow square. To the rear, open order; and as the rear happens to be open, it is in order for every man to proceed in that direction in as orderly a manner as possible. As I am lame myself, I think I will commence the retrograde movement first. March!"

As the rumor of the approach of the bloodthirsty red men was afterwards proved to be a false alarm, this movement on the part of Mark's division was not noticed at the time, although freely discussed afterward in Tuttle town, and the explanation given that Mark was frightened by the explosion of a belated hunter's shotgun.

THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW



October, 1934—July, 1935

Published by

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF MISSOURI



Volume XXIX

FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, *Secretary-Editor*
Columbia, Missouri
1935

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CONTRIBUTORS

- COLLINS, EARL A.**, Professor of Education and Director of Practice Teaching,
Central Missouri State Teachers College, Warrensburg.
- DORSEY, DOROTHY B.**, Research Assistant, State Historical Society of Mis-
souri, Columbia.
- KING, ROY T.**, Head of Newspaper Department, State Historical Society of
Missouri, Columbia.
- MCDERMOTT, JOHN FRANCIS**, Instructor in English, Washington University,
St. Louis, Missouri.
- READ, ALLEN WALKER**, Research Associate, Historical Dictionary of American
English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.
- SCHAAF, MRS. IDA M.**, Author and life-long resident of southeast Missouri,
St. Marys, Missouri.
- SCHULTZ, GERARD**, Instructor in History, Iberia Junior College, Iberia, Mis-
souri.
- SHOEMAKER, FLOYD C.**, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri,
Columbia.
- SPOTS, CARLE BROOKS**, Head of the Department of English, Missouri Valley
College, Marshall, Missouri.
- SWARTZLOW, RUBY JOHNSON**, Student in History, Columbia, Missouri.





